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ABSTRACT

The papers presented cover three general themes: modern education and curriculum; the legacy of educational thought; and origins and issues in U.S. educational development. Part 1 begins with "The 'New Social Studies' and Curriculum Innovation: The Amherst Project Experience, 1959-1972" (C. E. Samec) which describes the project's inception, the problems in communicating its curriculum philosophy, financial difficulties, and the complications of publication. "Bilingual Education: A Reevaluation of Objectives" (T. Reagan) argues three critical points in bilingual education. "New Concepts in an Old Discipline: Reconstructing the Introductory History of Education Course" (R. L. Schnell; P. T. Rooke) demonstrates how to use students' childhood experiences and family histories to teach the history of education. "Ghana's Educational Program: A Model for African Countries?" (C. E. Alberti) discusses the Ghanian educational system's development, structure, curriculum, and problems. Part 2 begins with "Isocrates: Pillar of Western Education" (W. L. Innerd) which details Isocrates' life and his teaching methods. "Educational Journalism at Its Most Provocative: The American Herbartians and Their Influence on the Direction of Twentieth Century Teacher Education" (B. H. Westfall) focuses on Charles De Garmo, Charles McMurry, and Frank McMurry, and their roles in shaping the American branch of the Herbartian movement. "Samuel Lewis, Ohio's First Superintendent of Common Schools" (M. L. Petit) is a biography of Lewis. "Useful Education for the Poor: A Benthamite Perspective" (B. W. Taylor) provides a description of Bentham's work towards educational reform for the English poor. Part 3 begins with "The Reform of Education in the Agrarian South, 1900-1950" (S. J. Maxey) which details the reform movement that included the involvement of white middle class professionals and external associations; the inception of school consolidation, high schools, school supervisors, and black educational institutions; and revised teacher education requirements. "A Davenport School's Romantic Affair with Southern Plantation Belles" (L. Horton and R. E. Belding) discusses the physical location, facilities, and curriculum of the Immaculate Conception Academy (Iowa) that attracted affluent women from the deep South during the Civil War. "Detroit's First 'Great School War': The Politics of Common Schools in a Frontier City, 1836-1842" (D. L. Angus) relates the political struggle for a free educational system. The conference program, business meeting's minutes, and a directory of attendance are included. (DJC)

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David L. Angus

also the proceedings of the fifteenth meeting

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Editor's Foreword

This fall we again returned to the friendly downtown campus of Loyola University for our fifteenth meeting and for a short time shared our research and interest in the history of education. It was certainly encouraging for our organization to witness such a large turnout. Charles Dye must be congratulated for his efforts in bringing to us such an excellent and enormous program. It was an enjoyable task for all present to absorb all that went on in just two short days.

This journal is a published record of the breath and character of this meeting. As there were eleven papers presented, this editor arranged them under some general headings which might direct one to focus on a particular subject which would be of most interest to the reader. The number of papers, large attendance and the distances which many participants came to be a part of our deliberations are all testimony that our society continues to be a viable educational experience. Our colleagues from Canada and from other sections of our own nation give the meeting added dimension and a cosmopolitan flavor that excites us all.

We must again thank our friends at Loyola University, most notably the new Dean, Gerald Gutek and Dr. Rosemary Donatelli, their staff and colleagues for their essential and continued work. The administration of Loyola University for the use of their facilities and the University of Northern Iowa for its support of the journal, this editor wishes to offer the sincere thanks of the society. The membership of the society is also to be congratulated for their friendship, scholarship, and genuine love of history of education which lives in the care, responsibility, and excellent work that is continually brought before us in both program and organization in these annual meetings. As a result, it is this simple smoothness that allows all of us for a few moments to play out our roles as scholars.

Edward Rutkowski

Editor

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PART I

Modern Education and Curriculum

The "New Social Studies" and Curriculum Innovation: The Amherst Project Experience, 1959-1972

by
Charles Edward Samec
Morton West High School, Berwyn, Illinois

During the 1960s there existed a number for reform movements aimed at revising the teaching of such disciplines as the natural sciences, mathematics and the social sciences. The impetus for reform in the decades following World War II came from a growing dissatisfaction with educational objectives, instructional strategies and the failure of pupils to comprehend subject matter. The clamor for reform came from school teachers, administrators, parents and teachers of education in colleges and universities. In mathematics, for example, it was lamented that students had mastered the facts of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division but had no idea what the processes meant. The mathematics reform movement — popularly referred to as the "New Math" — sought to teach mathematical concepts in addition to facts.

Social education reformers followed the lead of curriculum innovators in mathematics and science, thereby creating a "New Social Studies." Edwin Fenton and John Good state that the social education reformers had the following ten attributes: (1) they were connected to one or more universities; (2) they employed a number of professionals in the task of curriculum construction, namely, social scientists, historians, psychologists, experienced classroom teachers and members from university and college schools of education; (3) they sought to shorten the time-lag between their research and its implementation in the curriculum; (4) they tried to implement Jerome S. Bruner's ideas on structure of a discipline; (5) they desired to have students learn by induction; (6) they emphasized the integrity of the social science disciplines; (7) they tended to produce materials that varied from the standard textbook format; (8) they organized attempts to evaluate their curriculum; (9) they sought to distribute their materials through commercial publishers, thereby reaching as many teachers as possible; and (10) they were funded either by private philanthropic organizations or by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the National Science Foundation.[1] Innovations occurred in the teaching and learning of sociology, economics, political science, anthropology and history. This paper traces the development of one of the "New Social Studies" curriculum projects, the Amherst Project.

The reformers of the 1960s assumed that curriculum innovation was possible if new materials were produced and made available to classroom teachers and if noted authorities in education and the disciplines endorsed the attempts. In order to accomplish this, large sums of money had to be obtained and professional talent had to be recruited. In addition, ways had to be found to inform teachers of the pedagogical concepts used by the reformers and induce them to accept the innovations. The history of the Amherst Project suggests that the educational vision of the reformers of the 1960s was difficult to translate into reality.

In 1959 a group of high school teachers and college instructors from institutions in the vicinity of Amherst, Massachusetts, felt that something should be done to improve the teaching of American history in the secondary schools. The teachers were dissatisfied with the way their students were reacting toward their efforts. The university people were concerned because incoming freshmen were ignorant of historical generalizations, and more importantly, they lacked a critical spirit of inquiry. The outcome of this concern was the establishment of the Secondary School History Committee and a determination to remedy the situation. Under the leadership of Dr. Van R. Halsey, Jr., then director of admissions at Amherst College, this group focused its attention on the development of curriculum materials. People, chiefly from the Amherst area, met during the summer and wrote units. Three high school units were written in 1961, seven in 1962, ten in 1963 and six in 1964. In addition, an entire American history course to be used at the junior high school level was developed. Because it originated with a group of college instructors and high school teachers who taught in the Amherst, Massachusetts area and because all of the summer writing sessions were held at Amherst College, the endeavor was popularly referred to as the Amherst Project.

During the summer of 1964, the Secondary School History Committee was succeeded by the Committee on the Study of History. The new committee was composed of nine people: Wayne Altree, Chairman of the History Department of Newton (Massachusetts) High School; Lee Benson, Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania; Lawrence Chisolm, Professor of American Studies at the State University of New York at Buffalo, New York; Alice Rice Cook, Director of the Human Relations Center of the New School for Social Research; Peter Schrag, Editor-at-large for *Saturday Review;* George R. Taylor, Professor-emeritus of History at Amherst College; and the committee's chairman, Van R. Halsey, Jr. The Committee generally met twice a year, usually in the spring and fall. The primary purpose of the Committee on the Study of History was to advise, to generate ideas and to assess progress.[2] The Committee members served without compensation.

The Committee on the Study of History established a staff composed of a Director, Assistant Director and a number of other assistants, some of whom were full-time and others who were part-time. The Director, who supervised all operations, was responsible to and reported directly to the Committee. The Director, also, kept educators and the public informed of the Committee's progress. He made policy; supervised the writing program; and hired writers, workshop participants, and other staff personnel. The Assistant Director aided the Director, performing those duties that were determined by the Director and the Committee on the Study of History, such as, supervision of those teachers who were experimenting with units in their classrooms and editing a newsletter to keep members informed. The only Director the Committee on the Study of History ever chose was Dr. Richard H. Brown, an educator and historian, who was interested in the problems of teaching history. Between 1966 and 1971, Gary Baker, Baxter Richardson and Tom Newman, all of whom had taught history at the secondary school level, served as Assistant Directors. The Director and the Assistant Director shared the task of editing all of the units.

In addition to the curriculum units mentioned above, forty-two units were created between 1965 and 1970. By 1965, the Project had developed a curriculum model for writing history units. Each unit contained a perennial question, such as the ways we perceive reality, the use of compromise to resolve problems or the relationship of ethics to political decision-making, and primary and secondary sources that related to the unit's main theme. The student was to confront the main theme, locate some aspect of the problem that was of interest, and, using relevant source materials, formulate a position on the issue in question. Thus each student was to create a body of knowledge about the problem.

The Project desired that each student imitate the behavior of professional historians. An historian selects a problem that is of interest, marshals relevant evidence, formulates and tests hypotheses and reports his or her findings. Also an historian does not use a unique methodology, but, rather, fashions an approach that allows him or her to resolve whatever procedural difficulty is at hand. Thus the Project concluded that it did not have to introduce students to a research methodology that was uniquely historical.

The first problem faced by the Project, then, was whether or not its approach was successful with students. Beginning with the summer workshop of 1961, the Project created units of instruction and tested them with experimental groups of students. By 1964, the Project felt that its curriculum ideas were successful with students, and, as a result, plans were made to continue the production of additional units. Each unit followed the curriculum model.

Since it was determined that the units were successful with students, a

second question had to be answered, namely, whether or not teachers would be able to use the new curricular approaches in their classrooms. The units produced by the Project were intended to be models, suggesting ways classroom teachers could create instructional units of their own. Thus the teacher had to ascertain students' needs, select problems for study, help each student identify some aspect of the problem that he or she could successfully pursue, locate relevant source materials and guide youngsters in the use of the materials. If a teacher decided to use one of the Project's prepared units, he or she had to help students find a problem of interest and select which of the many documents in the unit were relevant for each student's project. And since each unit did not contain a comprehensive set of materials related to the unit's main theme, the teacher faced the inevitable task of locating additional primary and secondary sources that would relate to the student's inquiries. The Project had to ascertain whether or not classroom teachers would be able to utilize the Project's curricular approach. The Project found an answer to the question when they field tested the units of instruction.

After 1964, during each fall the Project experimented with units that had been written during the summer. Cooperating teachers used the units in their classrooms, wrote detailed reports, indicating their experiences with the unit, and were observed by Project staff members as they taught their classes. The Project soon realized that teachers were having difficulty using the experimental units. It seemed that the teachers misunderstood the Project's aims and used the materials in ways that led to failure of the curriculum. A large number of the teachers, for example, had their students read each document in succession as it appeared in the unit. Through the use of analytic questions, the teachers elicited from the students the facts contained in each document. By the end of the unit, the students had compiled a large number of facts about the historical problem but had not gained an insight into the main question posed by the unit. The Amherst Project saw that teachers were not using the units as the Project had intended that they be used. Consequently, the Project moved from a concentration upon the writing of curriculum units to devising ways of helping teachers to understand and use inquiry learning. During 1966 and 1967 the Project conducted eight workshops for teachers at Amherst College; Chicago; San Francisco and Berkeley, California; Rochester, New York; and Dade County, Florida. One-hundred and fifty-five teachers were taught the meaning and use of inquiry learning.

In addition to its attempts to work with cooperating teachers in inquiry workshops, the Project sought to influence those who worked with classroom teachers by conducting a series of government-sponsored workshops. In 1968 the Project was hired by the United States Office of Education (USOE) to conduct workshops for those who operated summer NDEA institutes for teachers. Three workshops were held for institute directors; Amherst College; Berkeley and Oakland, California; and Racine, Wisconsin. In the following year, a workshop was held at Indiana

University for those who were involved in the History Education Project. In each case, the Project was to inform the participants about the new trends in history education. The one-hundred people who attended the workshops were thereby exposed to the Amherst Project's ideas about curriculum and learning theory. Since these participants dealt with thousands of teachers during the summer, the Project felt it had successfully proliferated its ideas on inquiry learning to a large number of classroom teachers. Nevertheless, the Project staff was not satisfied, for it saw its primary task as one of working with classroom teachers.

In 1969, therefore, the Amherst Project sought to stimulate curriculum innovation in local schools. A new program, consisting of two phases, was instituted. The Project first proposed that a local school or cluster of schools conduct an intensive one-week workshop under the auspices of the Project so that teachers, administrators and school board members would become acquainted with the Project's ideas on curriculum and learning. After the workshop, during the second phase, the school or schools would be committed to a program of curriculum development, which would be supervised by the Project. Such a program was referred to as an Education Development Team. During 1969 and 1970, seven Education Development Teams were established in Dallas; Boston; Port Washington, New York; northern California; Vancouver, Washington; Delaware, and Tulsa, Oklahoma. A total of 209 persons participated in the Education Development Team program. In addition to Education Development Teams, the Project staff was also involved in a special workshop for principals, conducted in Columbus, Ohio, and in scattered one-day workshops that were held in various schools.

The Tulsa, Oklahoma, Education Development Team did, however, mark the end of the Project's experiment with workshops. While some of the workshops did succeed in creating enthusiasm for the Amherst Project's approach to teaching American history, the endeavor absorbed a great deal of the Project staff's time, energy and resources. The results attained did not seem to justify the expense, and, when after 1971 the Project did not have government funding and did not acquire any other major source of revenue, the Project abandoned all hope of any future workshops.

In addition to its difficulties in communicating its curriculum philosophy to secondary school classroom teachers, the Project faced two additional problems, namely, money to meet its needs and conflicts with its publishers. The first problem, the problem of money, was especially serious since throughout its history the Project had problems financing its activities. The Secondary School History Committee was originally funded by four $200 grants, one from each of four colleges in the Amherst area. Later funds were received from two private sources; the Merrill Trust and Wemyss Foundation. Also, the Committee received some funds from the D.C. Heath publishing company for the units the company

intended to publish. These funds allowed the Amherst Project to create curriculum units during the summers of 1961, 1962 and 1963. The Project, however, did not have enough money to hire a full-time staff, and at no time was there a director who could coordinate the Project's activities.

The Secondary School History Committee ceased to exist in 1964, being replaced, as has been noted above, by the newly created Committee on the Study of History. Also in 1964 the Amherst Project received a three-year contract from the Bureau of Research of USOE for a reported $246,226. The contract, which had been negotiated by Van R. Halsey, Jr., and Richard H. Brown, had actually been made with Amherst College. The College, in turn, hired the Amherst Project to fulfill the conditions of the grant. The government grant allowed the Amherst Project to hire a full-time staff, including a director, Richard H. Brown, and operate two centers, Amherst College and the Newberry Library in Chicago. New curriculum units were produced under the contract during three summers.

On August 31, 1967, the Cooperative Research grant was due to expire, and the Project sought a new grant. The Project desired, among other things, to increase its staff, expand production of units and experiment with audio-visual aids. On March 9, 1967, the Project submitted its proposal to USOE — a three-year contract, totalling over $900,000. The Project's proposal was rejected by USOE primarily because Congress delayed in passing USOE appropriations, and, therefore, the amount requested by the Project was not available in the spring of 1967. The failure to obtain a new contract from USOE posed a problem for the Project. Writers had been hired to create units during the summer of 1967; and $57,000 was budgeted under the 1964 contract to be spent for this purpose. In order to complete the task, the units would have to be tested in classrooms in the fall. How could the Project comply with the terms of the 1964 contract if the Project ceased to exist after August 31st? The Project asked USOE for and received a ten-month extension of the present contract.[3] The Project was now funded through June 30, 1968.

The United States Office of Education was becoming more interested in teacher education and less in curriculum research and materials. As noted above, by 1968 the Amherst Project had become convinced that teachers needed to be educated in the use of units that it had created. Thus USOE interest in teacher education occurred at the same time that the Amherst Project had become aware of the needs of teachers. In March, 1968, Brown submitted a request for funds for the fiscal year, 1969-1970, to train teachers in new curriculum innovations. The new proposal was submitted to the Bureau of Educational Development instead of the Bureau of Research. The funding came too late and no new units were produced during the summer of 1968.[4]

In December, 1968, the Project received a new contract with USOE that funded it through June 30, 1970. The Bureau of Educational Personnel Development announced that hereafter contracts would be granted on an annual basis. In 1969, however, the Bureau granted the Project $200,000 for the fiscal year, 1969-1970, and an additional $50,000 for the following year in order to create Education Development Teams. The Bureau of Educational Personnel Development announced that the Amherst Project would not receive any additional funds after September 30, 1971.[5]

The Amherst Project continued to operate, however, until July 30, 1972, with $19,800 of federal funds, money that had remained from the USOE contracts. By July, 1971, the Amherst office had been closed and no one was being paid a salary. Operating out of the Newberry Library in Chicago, the Project fulfilled its last task, putting the remainder of the units promised the Addison-Wesley publishing company into shape for publication.[6]

Between 1964 and 1972, the Project spent $730,092 under five government grants. These funds enabled the Project to establish a full-time staff, hire curriculum workers, hold workshops and establish Education Development Teams. These achievements would have been difficult, and, perhaps, even impossible without government funding. But USOE funding created numerous problems for the Project. First of all, for much of this period the Project did not know if it would have sufficient funds to remain in existence. Secondly, the Project staff, especially after 1967, spent a great deal of its time negotiating contracts and writing proposals and reports. Thirdly, in 1968 a government contract was signed too late to allow the Project to hire writers and create new units that summer. Finally some of the government contracts were signed after the old one had lapsed, creating much hardship. For example, in September, 1968, a government grant expired and a new one was not obtained until November 19th. As a result, Brown went two months without a salary, implementation of some programs had been delayed by six months, and the Project accumulated nearly $10,000 in unpaid bills.[7]

The Amherst Project considered other sources of income. One proposal, which was eventually realized, was to incorporate the Project. In this way the Project would earn royalties on the published curriculum units, which would provide money for future purposes. Since the sale of curriculum materials was small, this did not prove to be an important source of revenue. A second proposal involved linking the Project with some institution or consortium of institutions. The institution or institutions would fund the Project and provide its staff. This proposal never materialized, however, perhaps because the Project feared being absorbed by a curriculum center and thereby losing its identity. In addition, the Project did realize some monies from the publishers of its units, but these funds did not contribute substantially to the operating costs of the Project.[8]

In addition to financial problems, the Amherst Project had numerous problems with the publishers of its curriculum units. Prior to 1966 the Project signed a contract with the D.C. Heath Publishing Company to publish seventeen of the Amherst units. From 1964 through 1966, eleven units were issued as part of a series called "New Dimensions in American History."[9] The Project had two problems with the way D.C. Heath was dealing with the Project's curriculum. First of all, the Project did not like the format of the units. The Project advocated that each classroom teacher had to construct his own curriculum, and it, therefore, wanted the units printed in a loose-leaf format so that the teacher could select both the documents that he or she wanted to use and the order in which he or she would present the documents to his or her class. In contrast, the publisher insisted that the units be issued in a bound, paperback form. The books that were published resembled a collection of source readings on a particular topic. The publisher probably felt that the bound, paperback format made the books more appealing to school districts. The way in which the books were being marketed constituted the second problem between the Project and the publisher. Already on the market was a very popular college problems series that was published by the D.C. Heath Publishing Company,[10] and the company's salesmen were advertising the "New Dimensions in American History" series as a high school version of the college series. The Project viewed its materials as a radical departure from other curricular efforts and rejected the connection with the college problems series.[11]

Unhappy with the D.C. Heath company, the Project sought a new publisher. Late in 1966, the Project signed a contract with the Addison-Wesley publishing house to print twelve or thirteen units. Under the terms of the contract with the D.C. Heath company, the Project still owed the company six units, two of which were to be the unit on Manifest Destiny and the one on the Spanish-American War. The Project had two goals: to terminate the contract and to reserve what it considered to be the best units for the Addison-Wesley company. Therefore, a list of four units was given the D.C. Heath company early in 1967 and an attempt was made to substitute a unit on United States-Russian relations for the unit on Manifest Destiny. The D.C. Heath company refused to relinquish the Manifest Destiny unit, publishing it in 1967. The company also refused to accept the four proposed units and negotiated an agreement determining which four units it would publish.[12] In addition the D.C. Heath company was given the right to make arrangements with other Amherst writers and publish their units separately.[13]

With the old publishing contract terminated, the Project began to prepare new units for its new publisher, Addison-Wesley. The Addison-Wesley company was already publishing materials from some of the other curriculum projects and seemed receptive to the ideas of the Amherst Project, even agreeing to issue the units in loose-leaf format. In

October, 1967, two units were sent to Addison-Wesley for publication, but neither was issued until 1970.[14] Numerous problems arose which delayed publication of the units. For one thing, extensive revisions had to be made before the units could be published. For example, it took over a year to make all of the necessary changes in the Korean War unit before it could be published. It is not clear how many of the changes were dictated by the publisher and how many were desired by the Project, since experimentation with the units was continuing.

In addition to the problem of extensive revisions, a second problem complicated publication, namely, the securing of copyright permission. Each of the units was made up of documents, mostly from printed sources. The publisher solicited aid from the Project to secure the necessary approvals so that all of the necessary documents could appear in the printed units. The task of securing the approvals consumed the Project staff's valuable time.

Another problem with the Addison-Wesley company soon emerged. Originally Addison-Wesley had agreed to issue the units in a loose-leaf format. The publisher, soon after the contract had been signed, desired to print the units in a bound form instead, perhaps because bound copies of the units could be better marketed. The Project and Addison-Wesley reached a compromise, whereby the units would be issued in a loose-leaf form and in a bound form, but the latter would have perforated pages that could be easily removed.

In 1970 the first six units were issued by Addison-Wesley.[15] Evidentally the publisher was pleased with the units because Brown was given a tentative contract for eleven more units. The Project staff drew up a list of eleven units for the publisher's consideration, and contracts were sent to the authors. The head of the publisher's marketing division was sufficiently impressed with the response toward the printed units that he asked the Project to prepare a two-hour presentation to be given at regional sales meetings with salesmen, demonstrating the materials and providing a list of persons in various areas of the country who had been involved in one or more of the Project's activities and who would volunteer to meet with prospective buyers in similar meetings. By July, 1971, the publisher informed the Project that the units were selling well and that it intended to issue anywhere from three to five new units a year after the original thirteen had been marketed.[16]

Actually, relations between the Project and Addison-Wesley were becoming strained during the years 1970 and 1971. First of all, the publisher experienced personnel changes, and the change in editors caused the Project to experience a feeling of anxiety. Mr. Thomas Collins had been the editor who had taken an interest in the Project's activities and had negotiated the contract between the Project and the publisher. Early in 1970 Collins resigned his post and joined the staff of another publishing company, Houghton Mifflin. Since a new editor would have

to be trained, the Project's publication schedule was uncertain. Actually, the four units scheduled for publication in 1971 were not published until the following year, and two of the three remaining units were not put on the market until 1973. The thirteenth and last unit was not published until after 1974.[17]

A second problem that occurred in 1970 involved the marketing of the units. While the Project was pleased with the aggressive behavior of the Addison-Wesley salesmen, it disliked certain other things that were being done. The salesmen, it seems, were promoting the units as college textbooks, stressing the bound form of the units and ignoring the loose-leaf editions. While the Project could do little to stop the first, it did secure an addendum to their contract with the publisher that prohibited the publisher from discontinuing the loose-leaf version of the units.[18]

In June, 1967, a series of units were published by the Holt, Rinehart and Winston publishing company. The units had been created during two workshop sessions in the summers of 1964 and 1965 under the auspices of the Project, but the two authors of the units had been allowed to negotiate with publishers to have the units printed.[19] Now, in 1970, the Project speculated as to the wisdom of having all future units published in this fashion.[20] In any case, for reasons that are unclear, the proposal to publish eleven additional units never materialized and only thirteen were published by the Addison-Wesley publishing company. However, thirty-one of the units that had been written between 1965 and 1969 were made available to the public through the Educational Resources Informational Center (ERIC).

By 1972, then, the Amherst Project experiment had virtually ended. The Project no longer had a staff and its director was employed by the Newberry Library; it no longer had government funding; its workshop activities had ended. Amherst units continued to be published after that date, primarily because of publication delays. Yet in spite of its failure to continue operations past 1972, the Project was a demonstration of a novel and ambitious approach to curriculum development.

The Project developed a curriculum, and, then, finding that teachers had trouble teaching its units, sought ways to influence changes in teachers' behaviors. All of this was attempted in spite of the lack of funds and problems with publishers. It is a moot question whether the Project, obtaining sufficient funds and resolving the conflict with its publishers, could have achieved its goals. The difficult nature of inquiry learning and the arduous demands made upon teachers, make it unlikely that the Project's efforts would be found acceptable by a large number of persons in the educational community.

It is hoped that histories will be written of the other "New Social Studies" projects. When this is done, a clearer picture will emerge of the social studies curriculum of the 1960s and an assessment of the wisdom of national curriculum reforms and the problems of disseminating curriculum ideas will be possible.

Notes

[1] "Project Social Studies: A Progress Report," *Social Education* 29 (April 1965): 206-208.

[2] Committee on the Study of History, "Final Report," Submitted to the Bureau of Research, United States Office of Education, [1971?], p. 1.

[3] [Committee on the Study of History], "Quarterly Progress Report on Cooperative Research Project No. H-168 for Period, April 1, 1967 to June 30, 1967," Submitted to the United States Office of Education, 9 November 1967, p. 2.

[4] [Committee on the Study of History], "Progress Report on OE Bureau of Research No. 5-1071," Submitted to the United States Office of Education, 20 March 1969, p. 3.

[5] Committee on the Study of History "Newsletter," 17 November 1969, p. 1.

[6] Amherst Project Staff "Newsletter," 21 October 1971, p. 1.

[7] [Committee on the Study of History], "Progress Report," p. 2.

[8] Amherst Project Staff "Newsletter," 7 July 1971, p. 2.

[9] Edward H. Merrill, *Responses to Economic Collapse: The Great Depression of the 1930s;* Peter Schrag, *The Ratification of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights;* Edmund Traverso, *Immigration;* Richard H. Brown, *The Missouri Compromise;* Edmund Traverso, *The 1920s;* W. Allan Wilbur, *The Monroe Doctrine;* William C. Ames, *The Negro Struggle for Equality in the 20th Century;* Peter Schrag, *The European Mind and the Discovery of a New World;* and Allen Guttmann, States' *Rights and Indian Removal.*

[10] "Problems in American Civilization."

[11] Amherst Project Staff "Newsletter," 30 November 1967, p. 1.

[12] Amherst Project Staff "Newsletter," 8 February 1967, p. 2; 12 October 1967, p. 2. The four units accepted and published were: John Campbell, *The Abandonment of Neutrality: America's Entry Into World War I;* Martin Sleeper, *The Abolitionists;* John M. Good, *To Institute a New Government: The Political Aims of the American Revolution;* and Allan O. Kownslar, *The Progressive Era.*

[13] The D.C. Heath Company series contained three books that were not written as part of the Amherst writing sessions: Melva Ellingsen, *The Settlement House;* George Goldberg, *The Supreme Court in American Life;* and Ralph K. Beenbe, *The Worker and Social Change: The Pullman Strike of 1894.* It is possible that these units were started during one of the writing sessions and then completed by the author after the session ended.

[14] Edmund Traverso, *Korea and the Limits of Limited War,* and Gary G. Baker, *Liberty and Security.* Amherst Project Staff "Newsletter," 12 October 1967, p. 2.

[15] Gary G. Baker, *Communism in America;* Edmund Traverso, *Korea and the Limits of Limited War;* Allen Guttmann, *Freedom and Authority in Puritan New England;* George Cohan, *Collective Security in the 1930s;* Johanthan Harris, *Hiroshima;* and Peter S. Bennett, *What Happened on Lexington Green?*

[16] Amherst Project Staff "Newsletter," 24 December 1970, p. 4; 17 March 1971, p. 1; and 7 July 1971, pp. 2 and 3.

[17] In 1972 the units that were published were: Allan Guttmann, *God and Government;* Ralph K. Beebe, *Thomas Jefferson, The Embargo and the Decision for Peace;* Lawrence Minear, *Lincoln and Slavery;* and Dayle A. Casey, *The Rights of Americans.* In 1973 two units were published: Muriel Moulton, *Conscience and the Law;* and W. Allan Wilbur, *The Western Hero.* The last unit, which was issued in 1975, was Thomas H. Buffinton, *Imperialism and the Dilemma of Power.*

[18] Amherst Project Staff "Newsletter," 27 February 1970, p. 7; 3 June 1970, p. 1; and 5 October 1970, p. 2.

[19] Allan O. Kownslar and Donald B. Frizzle, *Discovering American History* (New York, 1967). The publisher did not state that the book was a product of the Amherst Project. However, Richard H. Brown wrote a short essay on the nature of history which appeared as "A Note to the Teacher" in the book's introduction. Also, the authors acknowledged that Brown, Van R. Halsey, Jr., and Edmund Traverso had provided interest and encouragement to the authors. In the 1974 edition of the book, however, Brown's essay and the acknowledgements have been deleted.

[20] Amherst Project Staff "Newsletter," 3 June 1970, p. 1.

Bilingual Education: A Reevaluation of Objectives

by
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One of the most controversial issues in the public schools today is the development of bilingual education programs. Some 700 bilingual education programs, involving nearly 300,000 students, and this year alone costing over $150 million, are currently in operation. The significance of bilingual education programs has been emphasized and editorialized upon by both supporters and opponents — though for markedly different reasons. Supporters, who generally identify themselves as "cultural pluralists," have contended that such programs are either necessary as pedagogical tools to facilitate the entry of minority-language children into Anglo-American society, while at the same time preserving their unique cultural and linguistic heritage, or that such programs are necessary for the maintenance of minority cultural and linguistic traditions which should be protected in a democratic (and hence, it is supposed, pluralistic) social order.

Opponents, on the other hand, argue that bilingual education programs do not, in fact, encourage the necessary adaptation to Anglo-American social norms, but rather that they encourage separatism (the spectre of Quebec looms close at hand here), and prolong the suffering of the minorities involved by exacerbating their distinctive "grouphood."

These two positions are not, I would suggest, as antithetical as would initially appear to be the case. They have, in fact, much in common. Both advocates and opponents of bilingual education programs assume that such programs do in fact favor the maintenance of the native language as the acquisition of English takes place. They disagree only about whether this is a desirable or justifiable objective. Further, both those supporting and those more critical of bilingual education programs agree that the programs themselves are based on a conception of American democracy which is, or at least recognizes the desirability of being, both culturally and linguistically pluralistic. Again, the dispute seems to arise not in the interpretation of the goals of bilingual education programs, but rather, with whether the goals are desirable ones. Finally, both groups perceive the rise of bilingual education as the result of an essentially "grass roots" movement among minority-language people — primarily, though certainly not exclusively, hispanics. The disagreement here is not one of the factual situation, but one of the value judgment which is to be applied to the fundamentally agreed-upon state of affairs.

I would like to take this opportunity to suggest that these common perceptions of the orientation and objectives of bilingual education programs are, in fact, erroneous. I will try to demonstrate that the objectives of bilingual education as institutionalized are essentially three-fold. First and foremost, bilingual education is concerned with the acquisition of English by children of non-English and limited English-speaking ability, with at most only a minimal concern for maintaining the native language. Second, bilingual education is compensatory in nature, oriented primarily toward the children of low-income families, and is designed to give these children "equal educational opportunity" — a concept which will be discussed later. Third, bilingual education programs are closely linked to technical and vocational education programs, and tend themselves to be vocational in nature.

In examining these claims, we will look at evidence from a variety of sources. The legislation, at both the federal and the state levels, which created and continues to fund bilingual education programs, proposals for bilingual education programs which have been adopted, and evaluations of bilingual education programs will all be examined to determine the institutional objectives of bilingual education. It should be kept in mind that since the sources involved do not provide us with much insight into the everyday activities of the bilingual classroom, but rather, concentrate on the institutional, or formal, perceptions and objectives of bilingual education, the claims being made are not meant, at this time, to serve as a critique of the activities at the classroom level in bilingual education programs.

Legislative Goals

Federal policy on bilingual education from the enactment of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1968 to the passage of the Bilingual Education Act of 1974 is fairly consistent. Indeed, the only significant difference between the two pieces of legislation is that the later requires more specific evaluation of bilingual education programs. This in itself should give us some insight as to the goals of bilingual education, however, since this evaluation has been concerned primarily with the rate of the acquisition of English language skills by students in bilingual education programs. In general, though, the objectives of bilingual education programs as enunciated in the two Acts are fundamentally the same.

A cornerstone of both the 1968 and the 1974 legislation is the assumption that bilingual education is a form of compensatory education. In the 1968 Act there are repeated references to meeting the "special education needs" of children of limited English-speaking ability.[1] Further, in both Acts a primary justification for bilingual education programs is that to fail to offer such programs would hinder the child's ability to "progress effectively through the educational system."[2]

It should be noted here that to the degree bilingual education is compensatory in nature, it is basically paternalistic and ethnocentric, rather than pluralistic as its proponents claim. Bilingual education programs of a compensatory nature are paternalistic in that they represent State interference with the individual's liberty of action, justified by reasons based at least in part on the State's perception of the welfare of the coerced individual.[3] With regard to the question of whether bilingual education programs are ethnocentric or pluralistic, it seems clear that for a program to be truly pluralistic, it must respect the ethnic culture to the same extent that it does Anglo-American culture. A compensatory program necessarily presupposes that the ethnic child is either "culturally deprived" or in some way hindered by lack of exposure to Anglo-American culture, while not making the same assumptions about the Anglo-American child's ignorance of a second culture. Thus, since equal treatment is not accorded different cultures, bilingual education programs of a compensatory nature are clearly ethnocentric.

Related to the view that bilingual education is a form of compensatory education is the notion that bilingual education will help to ensure "equal educational opportunity." This is clearly stated in the policy statement of the Bilingual Education Act of 1974, which reads:

> The Congress declares it to be the policy of the United States, in order to establish equal educational opportunity for all children, to encourage the establishment and operation, where appropriate, of educational programs using bilingual education practices, techniques, and methods.[4]

The question here centers on the meaning of the phrase "equal educational opportunity." A coherent case has been argued recently that the phrase is actually a slogan used to describe a method of ensuring unequal education for children on the basis of social class origin.[5] If one accepts this argument, then the issue becomes a normative one, soluble only within a specific ideological framework.

A third major aspect of both the 1968 and the 1974 legislation is the concentration on children of low-income families. Bilingual education legislation seems to be based, to a considerable degree, on the same theoretical foundation as was the "War on Poverty:" the Theory of Human Capital. The Theory of Human Capital can be broken down into three basic components: first, the productive capacity of the individual is increased by schooling; second, as the productivity of the individual increases, so does that of society; and third, as the total wealth of society increases (as a consequence of the increasing production), so does that of the individual.[6] What this means for bilingual education is that by seeing that minority language children benefit to the greatest extent possible from public schooling, we ensure that their future socioeconomic status, as well as the economic well-being of the society as a whole, will also be maximized.

The major flaw with the Theory of Human Capital is that it doesn't always work. The theory is implicitly based on a number of fallacies — for example, it clearly assumes that the job market in the American economic system is flexible enough to absorb rising numbers of increasingly well-trained workers. This is quite obviously not the case, since both the years of schooling of the average American and the unemployment rate have been increasing in recent years. Further, the evidence suggests that just the reverse suggested by the theory actually takes place: increasing levels of education occur together with increasing worker alienation, job dissatisfaction, absenteeism, and decreasing productivity.[7]

The fourth concept that appears in both Title VII and the Bilingual Education Act of 1974 is the relationship between bilingual education and vocational education. It is very significant, I believe, that the only major legislation (other than the ESEA of 1965) to which bilingual education is directly linked is vocational in nature.[8] Since vocational education, as well as its offshoot, career education, has been shown to result in "the reinforcement of racial, class, and sex biases in public education,"[9] this connection is one of the most grave portents.

This relationship becomes especially serious when one considers that the connection exists not only between bilingual and vocational education programs, but that vocational education is, in at least the 1968 legislation, internalized in the bilingual education legislation itself. In the section of this legislation which deals with the use of federal funds, for example, no less than sixty percent of the types of activities approved for funding are vocational in nature.[10]

Bilingual education legislation at the state level, unlike at the federal level, is both diverse and factionalized. On the basis of the type of bilingual education legislation enacted, it is possible to divide states into four groups. The first group is composed of those states which forbid the use of any language other than English in schools (except, in most of these states, in foreign language classes). The second group are those states which lack any legislation either forbidding or allowing bilingual education programs. The third group of states are those which permit bilingual programs where needed, with need being determined at the local level, while the fourth group are those which mandate bilingual education programs.

Despite this variety of legislative response, within the third and fourth groups — that is, those states either permitting or requiring bilingual education programs — there is a remarkable concurrence of both the objectives of and the justifications for bilingual education programs. This can be seen in the justification for bilingual education provided in the 1973 Illinois Bilingual Education Act, which has since been quoted virtually verbatim by both Texas and Rhode Island legislators, and is

typical of most bilingual education legislation. The introduction to this Act reads:

> The General Assembly finds that there are large numbers of children in this State who come from environments where the primary language is other than English. Experience has shown that public school classes in which instruction is given only in English are often inadequate for the education of children whose native language is another language. The General Assembly believes that a program of transitional bilingual education can meet the needs of these children and facilitate their integration into the regular public school curriculum. Therefore, pursuant to the policy of this State to ensure equal educational opportunity to every child, and in recognition of the educational needs of children of limited English-speaking ability . . . it is the purpose of this Act to provide for the establishment of transitional bilingual education programs in the public schools.[11]

This justification states quite clearly that the bilingual education programs which it is creating are to be transitional, rather than maintenance or enrichment, in nature.[12] This is further substantiated by the related goal of facilitating the eventual integration of non-English dominant children "into the regular public school curriculum," (that is, into monolingual English classrooms). Further, the connection between bilingual education and the provision of "equal educational opportunity," commented upon earlier, is directly noted. Finally, it may be reasonably extrapolated from the phrase "the educational needs of children of limited English-speaking ability" that bilingual education is perceived by legislators to be a form of compensatory education in academic as well as economic terms. This claim is supported by the closely related Texas legislation, in which bilingual education is actually described as "a compensatory program."[13]

Another interesting insight provided by an examination of bilingual education legislation at the state level is that of the interrelationship between the degree of industrialization, the size of the hispanic community, and the evolution of either permissive or mandatory bilingual education legislation in a state. In those states in which there is a sizable hispanic population coupled with an industrial economy, bilingual education tends to be mandatory. This is the case, for example, in Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Michigan, and Texas. Further, in every state of this sort the legislation concerning bilingual education is at least permissive, as is the case in both New York and California. On the other hand, those states which ban bilingual education altogether, such as Montana, Idaho, and West Virginia, tend to lack both significant hispanic populations and industrial development.

Among those states in which there are sizable hispanic populations, as in the Southwest, bilingual education is permitted, as it is in most

industrialized states. The most notable exceptions to this very general rule are those industrialized states in which the labor needs of industry are met by either "native" workers or by non-hispanic minority workers. An example of this type of state would be Ohio, a highly industrialized state whose labor needs are met largely by Blacks and Appalachian whites.[14]

In short, running consistently through the federal legislation concerning bilingual education is an emphasis on the transitional nature of bilingual education, on the view that bilingual education is a compensatory program (in both academic and economic terms), and on the connection between bilingual and vocational education programs. These emphases are not only reiterated in the state legislation, but are in fact made far more explicit. Further, in the state legislation we see a nexus between industrialization, size of the hispanic community, and the type of bilingual education legislation enacted.

Program Proposals

Proposals for bilingual education programs are generally supportive of the conclusions drawn in the preceding section. Two dominant aims run throughout the proposals: the acquisition of English by non-English dominant children, and the development and implementation of "social" education for these children.

The transitional nature of the proposed programs is, in virtually every instance, quite blatant. For example, in the proposal for the bilingual education program adopted in Chicago, it is noted that:

> Within a period of two years, it is reasonable to expect that the X-dominant student(s) will be able to communicate orally in English and will . . . [be able] to use it with their English-speaking peers.[15]

Similarly, the proposal for the San Jose, California, program states that one of its central goals will be:

> English language development — to continue toward mastery of the English language through the development of listening, speaking, reading and writing skills.[16]

A concept which appears in many bilingual education proposals is that of "social" education. As used here, social education (or, perhaps more correctly, social training) entails such diverse activities as vocational or career preparation, the indoctrination of children with necessary "core" industrial values, and psychological training to aid in individual adjustment to social norms. The social training provided for in bilingual education program proposals varies greatly in terms of both the magnitude of the social training with respect to the overall program,[17] and of the specificity of intent provided in the proposal. If we imagine a continuum based on proposals calling for some sort of social training, two extremes might be the Stockton, California, proposal and the Chicago proposal.

The concept of social education embodied in the Stockton proposal is centered on the career needs of the individual child, and calls for the "improvement of . . . vocational aspirations of students of diversified ethnic backgrounds."[18] In essence, the Stockton proposal is suggesting only a highly group-specific form of vocational guidance.

The Chicago proposal, on the other hand, is much wider in its conception of the role of social education. It argues that:

> Besides language arts, content, and culture courses, a bilingual program needs programming for the students' psychological, social, and moral development. . . . The general objectives . . . are that the students develop a sense of security, of productiveness in school, of responsibility for a program, of social effectiveness, and of self-confidence and an awareness of career opportunities.[19]

This proposal, in addition to encouraging an "awareness of career opportunities," is concerned with providing the underlying psychosocial foundation needed by modern industrial workers. While it might be argued that the school's role in contributing to the "psychological, social, and moral development" of the child should not be quite so great as that suggested by the proposal, the major issue at hand seems to me to be one of the sorts of values and attitudes which the school is seeking to inculcate in its charges.

The values which are to be developed in children in bilingual education courses, according to the Chicago proposal, are productivity, responsibility, and a sense of both social effectiveness and of security. Taking into account the probable life futures of most hispanic children in the Chicago city schools, it seems difficult to justify teaching such values by an appeal to the state of the "real world," since most of these children will have little to gain either by being more productive or responsible (at least as these terms are defined by the school), and will have no reason whatever to assume either that they are secure (economically or otherwise), or that they are actually socially effective. Rather, it makes far more sense to argue that the objectives of such training are to ensure the passivity and compliance of a sizable, and potentially powerful, segment of the next generation of the American working class.

Evaluation of Programs

Bilingual education programs have been evaluated by a variety of groups, ranging from academics directly involved in the field to journalists appealing to the general public. By examining the criticisms of bilingual education programs offered by one such group, a special government research team, it will be possible to obtain a relatively coherent image of what the objectives of bilingual education programs have been.

The evaluation which will be discussed here is the *Evaluation of the Impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English Bilingual Education Program*, which was conducted by the American Institutes for Research between 1975 and 1977.[20] The AIR study, although declared by its authors to be inconclusive, is instructive for our purposes here primarily in terms of the issues it sought to examine. Therefore, its conclusions, and the controversy which surrounds them, will be of little interest to us[21] — what concerns us here are the questions the AIR team asked (and which their opponents have accepted as valid queries), rather than their answers to these questions.

Among the most significant issues raised by the AIR study was that of how the rate of English acquisition among hispanic students in a monolingual English classroom compared with that of hispanic students in a bilingual classroom. The study found that:

> Average fall 1975 to spring 1976 achievement gains in English Language Arts for the Title VII Hispanic students were not superior to those of non-Title VII Hispanic students.[22]

Further,

> Title VII Hispanic students . . . showed no gains in English Language Arts achievement between pre-test and post-test with respect to national norms.[23]

These findings would seem to presuppose that the goal of bilingual education programs was the acquisition of English. This argument is supported by the fact that the AIR study failed to seriously examine Spanish language development, as well as by the fact that the authors of the AIR study, as a consequence of these findings, describe bilingual education programs as having "not been generally effective."[24] Further, in their concluding remarks, the authors comment that:

> All in all, there seems little doubt that most of the students in the Title VII projects included in this evaluation generally were not performing in the English language at expected educational levels . . . [therefore] Title VII bilingual education as presently implemented should not be considered the most appropriate approach for these students.[25]

In short, since the children involved in bilingual education programs were not acquiring English rapidly enough, the programs were not performing their job adequately — and thus should be scrapped. The inescapable conclusion is that the primary goal of the programs had been to teach English to non-English dominant children as quickly as possible.

The AIR study is of further use to us in demonstrating the relationship between social class and enrollment in bilingual education programs. A major component of the AIR study was a determination of mean socioeconomic status by ethnic group of students enrolled in bilingual educa-

tion programs.[26] This was accomplished by establishing a ten-point socioeconomic status scale, on which a score of four to five would represent a child whose parents had, respectively, a grade school or high school education and worked at a service worker or machine-operator occupational level.[27] While there are serious flaws in basing an analysis of social class exclusively on education and employment, the findings of the AIR study are nonetheless informative.

The study found that for its sample of 5480 hispanic students in bilingual education programs, in grades one through six, the overall mean of the group was 4.9 and the range was 4.5 to 5.2.[28] What this suggests is that bilingual education programs are in essence economic compensatory education programs.

In conclusion, the objectives of bilingual education seem to be fairly consistent in the legislation, the program proposals, and the evaluation of programs. The nature of bilingual education, as enunciated in these three types of sources, is beyond any reasonable doubt transitional. The goals of bilingual education programs are, in essence, diametrically opposed to the creation of a linguistically pluralistic society. Throughout the material examined, there is no sense anywhere that the bilingual child may have a valuable skill — rather, s/he is seen, at best, as not being too disadvantaged, and at worst, as being handicapped, both culturally and linguistically.

Further, there seems to be a strong current running through the material examined which suggests that bilingual education is compensatory in nature, both in academic and economic terms. Insofar as this is the case, it has been argued that bilingual education is both paternalistic and ethnocentric.

Finally, there seems to be a significant nexus between the needs of the American economy and the development and functions of bilingual education programs.

In short, what I am suggesting is that the controversy which has surrounded bilingual education has been founded, on both sides, on a misunderstanding of the nature of such programs. Without delving into the issue of the pros and cons of cultural pluralism, I would like to suggest that it might well make more sense were the sides switched, with cultural pluralists attacking bilingual education programs, and with those favoring assimilation into Anglo-American society defending them.

[1] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *A Better Chance to Learn: Bilingual-Bicultural Education* (Clearinghouse Publication #51, May 1975), p. 180.

[2] Ibid., p. 186.

[3] Gerald Dworkin, "Paternalism," *Morality and the Law* (Belmont, CA.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971), p. 108.

[4] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, p. 185.

[5] Paul C. Violas, *The Training of the Urban Working Class* (Chicago: Rand McNally Publishing Co., 1978), p. 144. See also Marvin Lazerson, *Origins of the Urban School* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 200-1.

[6] See B.A. Wiesbrod, "External Effects of Investment in Education," *Economics of Education, Vol. 1* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1968), pp. 177-9.

[7] Ivar Berg, *Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), p. 17. See also Dorothy K. Newman (ed.), *Protest, Politics, and Prosperity* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1978).

[8] The legislation referred to is the Vocational Education Act of 1963, the Adult Education Act, and the Vocational Education Act of 1976.

[9] W. Norton Grubb and Marvin Lazerson, "Rally 'Round the Workplace," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 45, No. 1, November 1975, p. 7. See also Patricia Sexton, *Women in Education* (Bloomington: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1976), pp. 99-108. For a counter-argument, see Gordon I. Swanson, "Vocational Education: Fact and Fantasy," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 60, No. 2, October 1978, or Donald H. McLaughlin, *Career Education in the Public Schools, 1974-75: A National Survey* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), pp. 22-4.

[10] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, p. 181.

[11] Hannah Geffert et al., *The Current Status of U.S. Bilingual Education Legislation* (Arlington, VA.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1975), p. 60.

[12] For an excellent analysis of the distinctions among these three types of bilingual education programs, see Joshua A. Fishman, *Bilingual Education: An International Sociological Perspective* (Rowley, MA.: Newbury House Publishers, Inc., 1976), pp. 27-30.

[13] Geffert, p. 113.

[14] U.S. Department of Commerce, *1970 Census of Population* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 884.

[15] James F. Redmond, *A Guide to the Development of Bilingual Education Programs* (Chicago: Board of Education of the City of Chicago, 1974), p. 13.

[16] Charles Knight, *ESEA Title VII Project Proposal: San Jose Area Bilingual Consortium, 1976-7* (San Jose: San Jose Unified School District, 1976), Appendix I, p. 7.

[17] In a few proposals, such as that of San Jose, there is no mention whatsoever of any sort of social or vocational training.

[18] William C. Carey, *Plan for Basic Programs of a Bilingual/Multicultural Education Program, Title VII, ESEA, 1976-7* (Stockton, CA.: Stockton Unified School District, 1976), p. 54, 46.

[19] Redmond, pp. 27-8.

[20] Henry T. Trueba, "Research, Journalism or Politics," 1978 (unpublished paper), p. 2.

[21] This controversy was ignited by Noel Epstein's *Language, Ethnicity and the Schools* (Washington: The George Washington Institute for Educational Leadership, 1977), which, using the findings of the AIR study, launched a comprehensive attack on bilingual education programs in the United States.

[22] American Institutes for Research, *Evaluation of the Impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English Bilingual Education Program, Vol. I* (Palo Alto, CA.: AIR, 1977), p. VIII-3.

[23] Ibid., P. VIII 3.

[24] Ibid., p. VIII 5.

[25] Ibid., P. VIII 5-6.

[26] Ibid., p. V 8.

[27] Ibid., p. V 8.

[28] Ibid., Table V-A 8.

New Concepts in an Old Discipline: Reconstructing The Introductory History of Education Course

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Although a hardy perennial in the teacher education program, educational history has always been suspect on the grounds of utility and student interest.[1] As a result, historians have attempted to justify its existence by linking it to a series of interests and concerns. The new social history of education with its critical and revisionist tendencies was only the latest attempt to render educational history relevant. Unlike the earlier brands that told the glorious story of educational success or offered banal expositions of worn out democratic rhetoric, the new history combined scholarship with a radical critique of American society and education.[2]

Unfortunately for educationists, a critical history of education no more answered the demands for studies relevant to the problems of classroom management, discipline, and instructional organization, than had the tritest social foundations course. With its emphasis on the social sciences, the new educational history (touching on those larger elements of urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucracy), moved above the lives of humans. Leaving aside desks and chalk and educational thought for social scientific investigation of urban school systems, the new history of education created a modern morality play of abstract forces as irrelevant to students as earlier versions concocted by Whig historians.[3]

Somewhere — beyond the social scientific constructs — are not only the historical actors but the interests and lives of teachers and students. That we live in large impersonal urban centers, that our educational institutions bend little to our wills and minds, that educational innovations change nothing, and that contemporary western society has the potential to assimilate the most radical critiques, are not lost on our students.

Given the impasse of recent educational history, we ask whether there are other ways of dealing with it that might satisfy our need for meaning and value in what we study. Among the new historical specialties that promise to help us re-focus on pedagogical practices and ideas, on children, youth, and teachers, and on educational institutions, are the history of childhood and family. This mixture of educational, childhood, and family history draws upon student interests in their profession, a concern with our own personal development (psychologically and intellectually), and a need to make sense of their own world.

This paper will demonstrate several ways in which childhood and family history can be used to reconstruct the introductory history of education course. We can, of course, neither satisfy the demands of competency based teacher education program nor provide a detailed exposition of teaching strategies. Hopefully, however, the text and the notes will provide suggestions and sources to enable those who are interested to incorporate the new specialities into their own courses.[4]

The approaches examined are those that offer sufficient sources and theoretical coherence for incorporating childhood and family history into appropriate history of education courses. The starting point of the examination is the function of several major concepts — "childhood" and "adolescence," "family," and "schooling" — that makes possible the systematic use of different bodies of scholarship in the history of education.

Part One of the paper will examine a "Social Model" of childhood history that seems particularly appropriate for assimilating disparate materials directly and indirectly related to education. After the model has been described, its significance will be drawn out and its pedagogical use explicated. Part Two will extend the Social Model by demonstrating its potential for incorporating materials from historical, social scientific, literary, and critical sources.

SOCIAL MODEL

The most influential and fruitful interpretation is found in Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*.[5] Without accepting the correctness of the interpretation, we have found *Centuries of Childhood* an invaluable tool for introducing students to the social model since it links together concepts central to any historical interpretation of the development of modern formal education. We have also discovered that *Centuries of Childhood* requires careful classroom analysis.[6]

Ariès organized his historical investigation of the transformation of western society between the late Middle Ages and the eighteenth century around the themes of childhood/adolescence, school and family. Ariès argued that since the Middle Ages western society has been marked by an increasing separation of age groups, family units, and social strata. In step with growing social distinctions and distance in matters of wealth and power, Ariès saw a radical transformation of another institution, the school, that allowed for changing ideas and sentiment about family and children to take new and powerful forms. The retreat of the family from the network of societal relationships that had been the essence of medieval society and the rise of a concept of *private* family life that stressed romantic and parental love were facilitated by the creation of the "new" school which embodied those norms and values. Thus, according to Ariès, the three transformed institutions — family, childhood/adolescence, and school — supported and enhanced each others' essential elements.

An underlying assumption in Ariès' writings is that our world is socially constructed, that phenomena are turned into our reality by "concepts." The significance or meaning of events or sensory experiences depend not on themselves but on the observer/participant who orders and explains them. Concepts are the means of transforming phenomena into human reality, events into human experience. Major concepts assist us in ordering a vast array of data, in limiting our perceptions so that we can focus on manageable portions of our phenomena and in determining what counts for relevant reasons and evidences in human inquiry.

In support of his historical explication of the development of these concepts, Ariès drew upon iconography, language, games, toys, and dress, as well as literary sources such as courtesy books and school texts. The three-sided study enabled him to link together significant institutions (family and schooling), changing social practice and perception (decline of sociability and the rise of privacy), and major movements of thought and sentiment (romantic love, innocence of children, and the family/home as a haven in an impersonal world).

The concern with the analysis of concepts must not be seen as an effort to formulate a stipulative definition of a word or to arrive at some "true" meaning of a term. Instead the historical use of conceptual analysis seeks to explicate the criteria that define the use of a concept in specific historical settings. In turn, the determination of the criteria guides us in the collection, analysis, and organization of historical data. Consequently many old topics of educational history, e.g., "educational ideas," can be studied anew with fresh insight and relevance.

The conceptual analysis should begin with a cooperative examination of the central concept "childhood." In our analysis, having emptied it of all but its essential meaning, the cooperative analysis establishes the criteria of "childhood" (as demonstrated in *Centuries of Childhood*) to be dependence, protection, segregation, and delayed responsibility. Further analysis suggests that dependence and protection are necessary and sufficient conditions and that segregation and delayed responsibility are subsumed under them.[7] Each "condition" or "criterion" is then used to trace the evolution of "childhood" as argued in *Centuries of Childhood*. Consequently, students are prepared to read Ariès with increased understanding with respect both to the relationships between childhood and family and to the functions of religious, demographic, and intellectual changes in shaping childhood and family.

Equally important, *Centuries of Childhood* provides a convenient means of linking childhood and family history to our present concerns by examining — in the context of "childhood" and "family" — the development of elementary and secondary schooling and the creation of modern formal education with its age-grading, systematic courses of

study, collective pedagogical methods, intended to prepare its students for life in society. Ariès interpretation, thus, moves from individual experience, childhood and family, to mass institutions, schools, that define so much of our modern existence.

To supplement the conceptual analysis, slides and prints — including material cited by Ariès — are used to introduce students to the variety of historical evidence available, to illustrate artistic traditions, and to prepare students for the use of architecture in studying institutional developments. Such materials are not examined to substantiate Ariès interpretation but to demonstrate the assumptions in historical inquiry that give such "monuments of history" significance in human experience. Case studies that provide counter-arguments and evidence to Ariès are a crucial means of extending the Social Model.[8]

A further way to demonstrate the assumptions behind changing concepts of childhood, adolescence, and family is provided by literary criticism. Just as Werner Jaeger argued with great mastery and insight the centrality of "paideia" in Greek society by examining it and related concepts by literary analysis,[9] more modest studies of "childhood" have been made by Peter Coveney, William Walsh, and Edith Cobb.[10] Besides these more speculative works, there are studies that examine the "educational" perceptions of major writers.[11] Although not directly related to the Social Model, these literary studies can be used to illustrate the perceptions, tastes, and sensibilities of the reading public — or at least parts of it.

It is now appropriate to examine some historical specialties and to indicate how they may be incorporated into the Social Model. Since it is impossible to discuss pedagogical techniques in a short paper, we will simply point out where and how the specialties can be used once the students have been introduced to the relative concepts central to an understanding of the Social Model.

EXTENDING THE SOCIAL MODEL

1. *Institutional Studies*

The ultimate utility of the conceptual method is in its capacity to absorb specialized historical studies. The most obvious example is the growing literature that examines the institutionalization of various social groups — from mental asylums and prisons to orphanages to child-care and youth-serving agencies.[12] In his study of the development of the *modern* school, Ariès emphasized the triumph of the elite European secondary school and, except for scattered references, failed to consider fully popular formal education in either its European or North American forms. The studies of institutional development provide the means of extending the social model to non-elite strata.[13]

This splendid literature, including case studies of reformatories, houses of refuge, and juvenile courts, attempts to explicate the perceptions and social attitudes that give meaning and coherence to the establishment and operation of institutions, that make possible or prevent change, and that demonstrate the limits of public policy and popular thought. Without reducing all institutions to prisons, these studies allow us to consider schooling as a component of an *institutionalized society* and to see the forms in which the drive to control and socialize manifested itself since the eighteenth century.

2. *Ideology and Science*

Historians and theorists of institutions have dealt extensively with "sciences" that serve to support various institutional forms and practices. By explicating the ideological origins and function of science, they tap both the popular contemporary literature on the social functions of institutions and scholarship[14] as well as the students' social science studies. In conjunction with the political uses of science, the institutional studies provide a convenient introduction to the major interpretations of the establishment and purpose of common schooling.

3. *Institutional Records*

It is possible to introduce students to primary sources of selected institutions. Almost every community has institutions and agencies whose minute books and annual reports can provide material for analysis and comparative study with the published literature.[15] Whether these local sources are the base for student research papers or are selectively used for analysis in classroom discussion or in short essays, the immediacy of such materials is an important consideration.[16]

4. *Royal Commissions and Committees*

Similar primary sources are found in the reports and studies of various commissions and committees created to investigate and make recommendations regarding family law and the protection and legal status of children and youth.[17] These documents may be used for research papers and analysis similar to work with institutional records.

5. *Educational Theorists*

The study of the writings of educational theorists and practitioners was once a common element in many undergraduate history of education courses, and many students had a direct if superficial acquaintance with the work of pedagogues and moralists such as Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Dewey. The new emphasis on the social setting of formal education shifted the focus from "the school as a social system" to "the school and community" with the stress on community. Consequently,

the old history of educational thought or ideas lost much of its interest and relevance.[18]

With the Social Model, however, the importance of concepts allows this old literature to be reintroduced in new ways. First, if our experience is correct, since the literature deals with the issues of how children are trained, socialized, and educated, it has a direct appeal to intending teachers. Unlike much of the social history of education that examines macro-social issues, the old pedagogical writings are relevant to classroom management. Secondly, the old users of this literature suffered from the implication that it contained the pedagogical viewpoints of advanced thinkers and, particularly in the cases of who did not consider schooling directly, e.g., Locke and Rousseau, speculative philosophers. By linking the works of educational theorists to major concepts and by seeing them as reflections of shifting sentiments about childhood, adolescence, family life, and formal education, we are able to examine their ideas and arguments in relationship to social and institutional developments.

Locke's ideas can be seen as a consequence of the new scientific rationality with regard to human nature and the need for socializing and preparing elites for "modernizing" societies; Rousseau's writing in relation to changing thought and sentiment about family life and socio-political organizations; Lancaster's monitorialism as part of the extension of organizational models to the problems of mass schooling; and Dewey's instrumentalism as an attempt to reconcile modern views of child nature and family life with the demands of industrial institutional society.

Moreover, even so unlikely a pair as Rousseau and Lancaster may be studied as intellectual and practical responses to the problems of emerging modern societies with their emphasis on centralized authority, commercial and industrial development, and the necessity to assimilate diverse populations into the socio-political life of states. These "modern" conditions meant different attitudes towards childhood and education and new institutions and practices.

6. *Family Studies*

Although the growing body of studies in family history would appear to be eminently suitable for inclusion in educational history, the demographic and quantitative nature of much of the work limits its utility in an introductory course.[19] There are, however, a number of books that we have found useful. In particular, we would recommend Edward Shorter's *The Making of the Modern Family*, which surveyed much of the research, even though its insights are often marred by vulgarity and flippancy, and the "Introduction" by Peter Laslett in *Household and Family in Past Time*.[20]

In addition to general surveys, educational historians can use historical

case studies such as Lu Emily Pearson's *Elizabethans at Home*, Edmund Morgan's *The Puritan Family*, David Hunt's *Parents and Children in History*, and Philip Greven's *The Protestant Temperament*, in connection with Ariès on Childhood and Family. These studies provide examples of patterns of thought and practice for historical periods and particular social groups. Some such as *The Puritan Family* demonstrate the function of religious and theological developments in shifting sentiment about Childhood and the structures of family life.[21]

7. *Comparative Studies*

We now come to an extremely amorphous literature that investigates cross-cultural and cross-national issues. Although some central ideas, such as "citizenship" and "nationalism" may sound outmoded, since the Second World War there has been a sustained interest in the establishment and survival of new nation-states.[22] Besides the obvious focus on economic and social matters, development theorists and politicians have pondered the ways in which national identity and individual loyalty to new political entities may be fostered. In their search for political and social development, leaders of the new states have turned to education and schooling with a fervent optimism reminiscent of the nineteenth-century "school promoters."[23]

Given the emphasis on socialization or training for citizenship, the connection between childhood and schooling becomes increasingly apparent. The extension of western political and economic institutions, which are based on western educational institutions and practices, to Third World countries brings also western concepts of childhood and family. In this manner, the modernizing Third World is a historical "laboratory" in which major concepts in conflict with old patterns of social organization, thought, and sentiment can be identified. Consequently concepts such as childhood, adolescence, family, and school, and their relationship to citizenship and nationalism could be used in a comparative education course organized historically.

8. *Re-Socialization Studies*

There remains a final rich body of literature that can contribute to our understanding of the development of modern western society, that is, the courtesy, self-help, advice, and child-rearing literature.[24] When viewed as means of "re-socialization," these works and the scholarly studies of them provide insight into how past generations either re-trained themselves for new social positions or prepared their children for upward mobility.[25] The child-rearing literature cuts across several areas previously discussed. Both child-rearing practices and advice are often seen as reflections of dominant political ideologies.[26] Studies are different as Bernard Wishy's *The Child and the Republic* and Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy's *The Rise and Fall of the British Nanny* provide us with knowl-

edge of child-rearing practices as well as insight into the ethos of two Anglophone societies. Educational historians should not neglect related studies such as Robert Leeson's *Children's Books and Class Society* and Bob Dixon's *Catching Them Young* for other ways of connecting literature, concepts, and institutional arrangements.[27]

Additionally the literature can also be examined in light of a general drive for socio-economic improvement in which the traditional means of socialization and training are deemed too limiting and inflexible. Such a view allows this literature to be linked to schooling as a preparation for full membership in society, to childhood and adolescence as unique stages for such preparation, and family as specialized agencies for the fosterage and promotion of childhood and adolescence.

CONCLUSION

The above suggestions for introducing concepts of childhood, adolescence, and family into history of education courses and expanding this approach by drawing upon specialized areas of study have been necessarily only sketched out. Given the growing literature of new specialties and interests and perspectives of educational historians, there are virtually an unlimited number of ways in which to organize courses around the central concepts.

Notes

[1] For the efforts to keep American education history relevant, see Sol Cohen, "The History of the History of American Education, 1900-1976: The Uses of the Past," *Harvard Educational Review* 46 (August 1976): 298-330.

[2] Whatever the form of the "new" history of education, the proponents know that they had something exciting to say. For examples of this scholarly and moral earnestness, see Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960); Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Genius of American Education* (New York: Vintage Books, 1966); Michael B. Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools* (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1971); and Colin Greer, *The Great School Legend* (New York: Viking Press, 1972).

[3] This is not to question the *scholarly* relevance of such studies as Michael B. Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968); Marvin Lazerson, *Origins of the Urban School* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); and David B. Tyack, *The One Best System* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974) for the historian but to recognize that there is no universal criterion of "relevance."

[4] A major approach to integrating childhood and educational history, which is *not* discussed here, is by means of psychological models. The major North American theorists, Lloyd de Mause and Erik Erikson, are examined in R.L. Schnell, "History of Childhood, Psycho-history, and History of Education: A Pedagogical Critique of Three Models of Childhood," in *New History of Education*, ed. Michael V. Belok (Meerut, India: Anu Books, 1978), pp. 29-56.

[5] *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage Books (1965). Also see, "La Famille: A Report from France," *Encounter* 45 (August 1975): 7-12; and "At the Point of Origin," *Yale French Studies* 43 (1969): 15-23.

[6] A detailed description of the course is found in R.L. Schnell, "Reconstructing the Introductory History of Education Course," *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* (forthcoming 1980).

[7] The four criteria are, of course, not explicitly stated by Ariès but are extracted by analysis of his writings. Patricia T. Rooke, "The 'Child-Institutionalized' in Canada, Britain, and the US: A Trans-Atlantic Perspective," *Journal of Educational Thought* 11 (August 1977): 156-171; and Schnell, "Childhood as Ideology," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 27 (February 1979): 7-28.

[8] Barbara A. Hanawalt, "Childrearing Among the Lower Classes of Late Medieval England," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8 (Summer 1977): 1-22; Ilene H. Forsyth, "Children in Early Medieval Art: Ninth through Twelfth Centuries," *Journal of Psychohistory* 4 (Summer 1976): 31-70; Ayers Bagley, " 'Miniature Adults' or Portraits of an Educational Ideal?" *Educational Studies* 9 (Winter 1979): 365-390; Magdalen King-Hall, The Story of the Nursery (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958); Lloyd de Mause, ed., *The History of Childhood* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1975); David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History* (New York: Basic Books, 1970); John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); David E. Stannard, *The Puritan Way of Death* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, *Children in English Society* (2 vols.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971-1973); Gordon Rattray Taylor, *The Angel Makers* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1974); Alison L. Prentice and Susan E. Houston, eds., *Family, School and Society in Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975); Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage* (New York: Basic Books, 1977); John R. Gillis, *Youth and History* (New York: Academic Press, 1974); and Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex* (London: Quartet Books, 1978).

[9] Werner Jaeger, Paideia: *The Ideals of Greek Culture* (3 vols.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1944-1946); and Arthur W.H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility: A Story in Greek Values* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960).

[10] Peter Coveney, *The Image of Childhood* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967); William Walsh, *The Use of Imagination: Educational Thought and the Literary Mind* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966); and Edith Cobb, *The Ecology of Imagination in Childhood* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977). Also see Bruno Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977).

[11] Philip Collins, *Dickens and Education* (2nd ed.; London: Macmillan, 1965); Joy and Raymond Williams, eds., *Lawrence on Education* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973); and Gillian Sutherland, ed., *Arnold on Education* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973).

[12] David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum* (Boston: Little, Brown,

1971); Michael Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (New York: Vintage books, 1979); Gerald N. Grob, *Mental Institutions in America* (New York: Free Press, 1973); Joseph M. Hawes, *Children in Urban Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); Robert M. Mennel, *Thorns and Thistles: Juvenile Delinquents in the United States, 1825-1940* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1973); Robert S. Pickett, *House of Refuge* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969); Anthony M. Platt, *The Child Savers* (2nd ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977); Steven L. Schlossman, *Love and the American Delinquent* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977); Michael Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain* (London: Macmillan Press, 1978); and Ellen Ryerson, *The Best-Laid Plans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978).

[13] Schnell, "Childhood as Ideology," pp. 17-23.

[14] Loren Baritz, *The Servants of Power* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965); H.J. Eysenck, *Crime and Personality* (rev. ed.; London: Paladin, 1977); and Leon J. Kamin, *The Science and Politics of I.Q.* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977).

[15] For an example of the way in which local and state institutions can be put into the context of current scholarship, see R.S. Patterson and P.T. Rooke, "The Delicate Duty of Childsaving: Coldwater, Michigan, 1871-1896," *Michigan History* 61 (Fall 1978): 195-219.

The following are examples of institutional records that can be used either for research papers or for classroom analyses. Catholic Protection and Rescue Society of Ireland, *Report for the Year 1914* (Dublin, 1914); *The Associated Catholic Charities for Education, Clothing, and Apprenticing the Children of Poor Catholics, and Providing for Destitute Orphans* (London, 1815); *The Josephian* (St. Joseph's Boys Industrial School, Manchester), 1908-11; Barkdale Farm School, *24th Report* (Liverpool, 1886); *Extracts from Minute Book of the Commissioners of the Glasgow House of Refuge in Reference to Certain Claims of the Roman Catholic Clergy* (Glasgow, 1858); *Rules and Regulations for the Asylum of Penitent Females* (Dublin, 1796); *Report of the Bath Society for the Suppression of Vagrants, Street-Beggars, and Imposters; Relief of Occasional Distress, and Encouragement of Industry* (Bath, 1813); *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Free Industrial School* (Birmingham, 1851); Mary Carpenter, *Day Industrial Schools* (Bristol, 1875); *Fifth Annual Report of the Leeds Ragged and Certified Industrial School* (Leeds, 1865); and Alexander Thomson, *Industrial Schools: Their Origins, Rise, and Progress in Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1847).

[16] It is possible to use specific documents for analysis under examination conditions, e.g. Rev. N. Brueck, St. Patrict's Orphanage to Bradshaw, 19 January 1909. Bradshaw A35/I Miscellaneous Correspondence, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon.

[17] Ontario Law Reform Commission, *Report on Family Law*. Part III: *Children*. Part IV: *Family Courts*. Toronto: Ministry of the Attorney General, 1973-74; and British, Royal Commission on Family and Children's Law, Reports (Victoria, 1974-75).

[18] The following "Classics in Education" published Teachers College Press have been used: Peter Gay, ed., *John Locke on Education* (1964); William Boyd, ed., *The Emile of Jean Jacques Rousseau* (1962); Carl Kaestle, ed., *Joseph Lancaster and the Monitorial School Movement* (1973); and Martin S. Dworkin, ed., *Dewey on Education* (1959).

[19] Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis, eds., *Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); Theodore K. Rabb and Robert I. Rotberg, eds., *The Family in History* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1973); and Charles Tilley, ed., *Historical Studies of Changing Fertility* (Princeton: Princeton University Hress, 1978).

[20] Edward Shorter, *Making of the Modern Family* (New York: Basic Books, 1975); Peter Laslett, ed., *Household and Family in Past Times* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972); and Christopher Lasch, *Haven in a Heartless World* (New York: Basic Books, 1979).

[21] Lu Emily Pearson, *Elizabethians at Home* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957); Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family* (rev. ed.; New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966); and *Virginians at Home* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1963); Levin L. Schiicking, *The Puritan Family* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969); Philip Greven, *The Protestant Temperament* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977); Jean Latham, *Happy Families* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1974); J. William Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973); Bernard Farber, *Guardians of Virtue* (New York: Basic Books, 1972); Richard Sennett, *Families Against the City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970); and Neil Sutherland, *Children in English Canadian Society* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977).

[22] Reinhard Bendix, *Nation-Building and Citizenship* (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1969); Albert E. Gollin, *Education for National Development* (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1969); and John Bali-Bennett and John W. Meyer, "The Ideology of Childhood and the State: Rules Distinguishing Children in National Constitutions, 1870-1970," *American Sociological Review* 43 (December 1978): 797-812.

[23] Marvin Leiner, *Children are the Revolution* (New York: Penguin Books, 1978); Pamela Roby, ed., *Child Care – Who Care?* (New York: Basic Books, 1975); Ruth Gamberg, *Red and Expert* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977); and Karen Wald, *The Children of Che* (Palo Alto: Ramparts Press, 1978).

[24] Ernest Barker, *Traditions of Civility* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1967); Diane Bornstein, *Mirrors of Courtesy* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1975); Arthur B. Ferguson, *The Indian Summer of English Chivalry* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1960); and John E. Mason, *Gentlefolk in the Making* (New York: Octagon Books, 1971).

[25] Orville G. Brim, Jr., and Stanton Wheeler, *Socialization After Childhood* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966); Anthony Esler, *The Aspiring Mind of the Elizabethan Younger Generation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1966); Arthur B. Ferguson, *The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1965); J.H. Hexter, *Reappraisals in History* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961); and Fritz Caspari, *Humanism and the*

Social Order in Tudor England (New York: Teachers College Press, 1968).

The success literature is related to re-socialization and advice for personal and economic improvement: John G. Cawelti, *Apostles of the Self-Made Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); Irvin G. Wyllie, *Self-Made Man in America* (New York: Free Press, 1966); and Asa Buggs, *Victorian People* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1963).

[36] Michael Zuckerman, "Dr. Spock: The Confidence Man," in *The Family in History*, ed., Charles E. Rosenberg (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975); Melford E. Spiro, *Children of the Kibbutz* (New York: Schocken Books, 1965); Urie Bronfenbrenner, *Two Worlds of Childhood* (New York: Russell Sage, 1970); and Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein, eds., *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

[37] Bernard Wishy, *The Child and the Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968); Mary Cable, *The Little Darlings* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975); Jonathan Gathrone-Hardy, *The Rise and Fall of the British Nanny* (London: Arrow Books, 1974); Monica Kiefer, *American Children Through Their Books, 1700-1835* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948); Robert Leeson, *Children's Books and Class Society: Past and Present* (London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 1977); Anne Scott MacLeod, *A Moral Tale: Children's Fiction and American Culture, 1820-1860* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1974); Iona and Peter Opie, *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967); and Bruno Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Significance of Fairy Tales* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977).

It is also possible to reconstruct past social values and behavior by using autobiographies: Joan Kent, *Binder Twine and Rabbit Stew* (London: Coronet Books, 1978); Robert Roberts, *A Ragged Schooling* (London: Fontava/ Collins, 1978); Grace Foakes, *My Part of the River* (London: Futura, 1976); Maxim Gorky, *My Childhood* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966); M.V. Hughes, *A London Child of the 1870s*, *A London Girl of the 1880s* and *A London Home of the 1890s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); Flora Thompson, *Still Glides the Stream* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); Ernest H. Shepard, *Drawn from Memory* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975); Christopher Milne, *Enchanted Places* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976); Molly Weir, *Shoes Were for Sunday* (London: Pan Books, 1970); Harry Boyle, *Memories of a Catholic Boyhood* (Don Mills, Ontario: Paper Jacks, 1974); Charles Shaw, *When I Was a Child* (Seaford, Sussex: Caliban Books, 1977); and John Brown, a *A Memoir of Robert Blincoe, An Orphan Boy, Sent from the Workhouse of St. Pancras, London, at Seven Years of Age, to endure the Horrors of a Cotton-Mill, Through His Infancy and Youth, With a Minute Detail of His Suffering* (Manchester: J. Doherty, 1832/ Seaford, Sussex: Caliban Books, 1977).

Ghana's Educational Program: A Model for African Countries?

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INTRODUCTION

"Education is a process that attempts to ensure the cultural continuation of the group, race or nation . . . it transmits skills, knowledge, modes of inquiry, and values from the mature to the immature, either informally through the milieu or formally through the school."[1] "The promotion of formal education among its population is one of the most vital steps any government can undertake. This concept is critically important in a nation striving for modernization."[2] Education has long been considered the stepping stone a nation utilizes in its transformation from an under-developed to a developing nation, prepared to handle social and economic advancement. This attitude underlies the educational philosophy and goals of the Republic of Ghana, "a small rectangular country on the West African coast."[3] Ghana, the first African nation to receive its independence from the British in 1957, has come of age this year and "has the largest school system in Africa, with reference to the number of schools, pupils, and teachers."[4] "It also has, what many people believe to be the best educational system on the continent of Africa."[5]

Therefore, this discussion of the educational system of the Republic of Ghana will include: its development, its structure, its curriculum, and the problems encountered by the system. Perhaps, this discussion will reveal a pattern that may develop in other African countries for "developments in Ghana have often been followed by similar developments in other African countries."[6] This study of Ghana reveals an under-developed society in the process of transition or more importantly, it reveals the maturational process of a nation.

It is my intent to present a concise statement on the current educational structure operating in Ghana and then regress with the purpose of tracing the steps that Ghana has taken in advancing the education of its people.

> A new educational structure, announced in April 1974, consists of an initial phase of six years' primary and three years' junior secondary education to be compulsory and free and a second phase in which pupils would be prepared for '0' level technical and commercial courses. The military regime has

consistently stressed the need for the Ghanaian educational system to be more closely geared to the country's practical needs. In the 1974-75 budget, Col. Acheampong emphasized that spending on education should be closely controlled.

Most private schools are run by the churches in agreement with the local authorities. Higher education is given at the University of Ghana, the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi and the new University of Cape Coast. The amalgamation of the teaching and administrative sectors of the previously fragmented Ghanaian Teaching Service by military decree has been symbolic of the radical approach taken since the 1972 coup. Changes in the powers of local councils are also projected. A National Service Scheme for students, with failure to register for service being a punishable offence, was launched in 1973. Emphasis is laid on service in rural areas. All students belong to a National Youth Movement led by a Youth Council, membership of which is compulsory. In 1977 a National Reconstruction Corps, a majority of whose 20,000 members are drawn from the unemployed youths, was inaugurated to undertake large-scale farming. In 1973/74 there were 1,454,999 primary and 68,489 secondary school pupils, and 7,466 students receiving higher education.[7]

Hopefully, this statement has been disconcerting and has activated interest in the actions that have preceded and necessitated this decree.

TRADITIONAL AFRICAN EDUCATION

"In all societies, throughout the ages, educating for the 'good life' has been a persistent concern. Each developing country must of necessity define its own educational objectives and direct its energies to achieving them."[8] Given this premise and the possibility that Africa may have been the homeland of man, it is inconceivable for us to believe that the Africans did not have a system of educating their young before the Western world imposed its system — in this case the British. Education in the traditional sense is defined for Africans in terms of their society and at the center of the African society is the family and the family's responsibility to become part of the community in which they live. A community in which love and self-sacrifice are inherent. In general, the Africans have a broader view of family relationships and responsibilities as opposed to the Western world.

Traditional education of African children starts, as Maria Montessori believed, in infancy. "At this initial stage the children are more intimately related to their mother and father, in that order."[9] In an African family when a child reaches the toddler stage the family members begin to share in the child's education. Grandparents, aunts, uncles, brothers and sisters take an active part in the rearing and educating of the child.

"Traditional African education is all-embracing; and every social institution involves education activities that lead the individual to acquire behaviour-patterns, abilities and skills necessary for effective citizenship in the community in which he or she lives."[10] African education in the traditional sense is attempting to produce a skilled individual who will be an asset to the community in which he lives, a goal the most sophisticated nations strive to attain. African traditionalists are of the opinion that an individual's character is the most worthwhile asset that he has to offer his family and community, therefore,

> . . . the African society as a whole has attached the greatest importance to character training. Physical education, vocational training, religious education, respect for elders and cooperative community effort are adjudged to be predicated on 'good character.' The absence of any other aspect of education has been tolerable so long as good character prevails; but absence of 'good character' is the most shameful thing that an individual can inflict on his own immediate and extended families.[11]

This is not to imply that an African child's intellectual development is neglected. Actually, ". . . traditional African education deeply encourages intellectual growth and development. Observation, imitation and participation are some of the major learning processes employed."[12] Imagine an African child. A child who is unquestionably an essential part of his immediate and extended families. A child deeply immersed in his culture. A child whose way of life is directly related to his physical setting. This child can not rely solely on his good character if he wishes to survive in his world. The African child has to be able to make a friend of his physical setting. This feat can not be accomplished through 'good character' alone. The African child, if he is to be an independent being, must be capable of integrating his world with all that he has learned from his family, immediate and extended, in order to survive.

> Traditional African education then has not been a rigidly compartmentalized affair, as is the case in many contemporary systems. Children and young adults learn by doing; they learn good manners and social behaviour as they learn to farm, trade, weave, etc. by actively participating in the processes via a number of methods: imitation, demonstration, rituals, ceremonies, etc.

> It is fair to say that the main ends of education in the traditional society are character training and job orientation. . . . To ensure discipline and concentration, the children generally are not trained by their parents but by relatives, master craftsmen in particular fields or friends.[13]

Traditional African education creates a problem for today's educators. How can they make formal education meaningful for the Ghanaians? Meaningful formal education must be built upon the informal education

that the Ghanaian child has been immersed in through his formative years. This is not an easy task. In order to build upon this informal instruction, the educators must be cognizant of the role that the Ghanaian child's culture and physical environment play in his development as a person. The formal education of a Ghanaian child will be unsuccessful if the educators neglect the culture and the physical environment of this child. To deny the importance of a Ghanaian's culture and physical environment is to deny a fundamental part of his persona.

> Obviously, children from a home background not oriented toward formal learning are virtually excluded from success in school. To succeed in a Western-oriented school, the children literally have to run twice as fast to get half as far. . . . Of course, in the African context, the school is attuned not only to a foreign culture but also geared to the interest of a priviledged few.[14]

It can be concluded that in a developing country such as Ghana an imperative exists and that is to meld informal education, traditional African education with formal education, the Western-oriented system. If Ghana is ever to attain the modernization and the social and economic recognition that it desires, the leaders must be sympathetic to the people's needs and what benefits they would derive from traditional education and what benefits they would derive from formal education. The leaders and educators could weave the best elements of each system into a new scheme that would satisfy the Ghanaians' wants. Thus, through this unique educational system Ghana would have the means to become a truly developed nation.

However, as this discussion of Ghana proceeds a political philosophy surfaces that is contrary to the aforementioned concept. Modernization and social and economic advancement become primary to the leaders of Ghana. The people of Ghana are periodically considered to be of paramount importance by their government but only as they pertain to the furtherance of the primary goal. This political philosophy has caused much unrest in Ghana. In the brief period since its independence twenty-one years ago, Ghana has experienced a number of coups.

THE MISSIONARIES' EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE

"The foundation of the Ghanaian educational system was laid by the 19th century missionaries who functioned not only as collaborators and arbitrators on the behalf of the British government, but also as the first (formal) educators for the native population."[15] The major work of the missionaries was initially the conversion of the Ghanaians to Christianity but an overwhelming number of missionaries deemed it necessary for the natives to be literate if not highly educated before conversion could take place. Thus, the major work of the missionaries became education. The Ghanaians' culture and physical environment did not influence the educa-

tional schema of the missionaries. The missionaries proceeded to impose their educational system on the Ghanaians without realizing that these two alien cultures would eventually clash. Still more and more missionaries poured into this country with the intent of expanding the educational opportunities of the Ghanaians. These well intentioned people not only laid the foundation of the formal educational system but also laid the foundation for the unrest that this nation was to experience.

The missionary schools copied the school structure that was prevalent in England. The culture or the physical environment, the background of the Ghanaians, was not inculcated in this foreign structure.

The British government, the colonial government, did not intervene or organize the educational system established by the British missionaries until the late 1920s. "It was then that the missions themselves came to realize the burgeoning expenses for maintaining their schools were far beyond their resources, especially in relationship to the magnitude of the task they perform."[16] The British government's idea of an 'active' role was to filter extra money to the existing mission schools.

> As educational activity expanded, the government continued its policy of leaving the business of education in the hands of the missions. The missions were allowed to establish schools wherever and whenever they pleased. Still, most missions built schools along the coast . . . where the demand was greatest.[17]

With the approach of the 1940's the demand for primary education was waxing. The Ghanaians answer to this unheeded demand was the unaided primary school. The unaided primary schools were not financed by the missions or the colonial government. "These schools were started in individual homes, in abandoned huts, and the like and reflected the Ghanaian people's increased concern with their educational and political future."[18] The unaided schools were an overt sign of discontent with the system. The Ghanaians wanted their heritage to permeate their educational system. "As many as one hundred of these unaided schools sprung up within a year's time, and the government decided to fund these schools, provide them with the proper personnel and materials, in response to the people's demands."[19] The Ghanaians raised their voices and protested their inadequate education largely due to the influence of two men, Kwame Nkrumah and J.R. Danquah. "Men like Kwame Nkrumah and J.R. Danquah, urged the Ghanaians to go to school, so that they might one day be able to control their own country and be independent of the British government."[20] The unrest continued to build. The people of Ghana wanted more and better schools. They wanted their schools improved at all levels but the colonial government was doing little to fund the secondary schools and universities. So, the Ghanaians not only clamored for a better educational system but also for independence from an insensitive government. To pacify the Ghanaians, a

predominantly African government came into being in 1951.

Education was a high priority for this government. This predominantly African government was keenly aware of the average Ghanaian's view of formal education. The Ghanaians held the belief that formal education was the means to the "good life." The African government placated its people with more educational facilities and the continued promise of the "good life." However, the government neglected to redefine the "good life." Formal education still ignored the Ghanaians' culture. Modernization and social and economic advancement were primary to these new African leaders. The placating measures quieted the unrest for a while.

KWAME NKRUMAH'S EDUCATIONAL SCHEMES

In August of 1951, the Accelerated Development Plan for Education was put into effect by the new Prime Minister, Kwame Nkrumah. Its aim was to expand as quickly as possible the entire pre-university educational system, the pre-university system being all formal education below the university level. This plan was the first in a series of schemes to expand as rapidly as possible the six-year primary schools so that every child in both the Northern and Southern territories could receive a minimum basic education without paying tuition. In order for the Accelerated Development Plan for Education to be executed two major feats had to be accomplished. First, the newly developed Department of Education had to incorporate all the unaided schools throughout the country, and make them 'approved' institutions, eligible for public funds. Secondly, tuition fees had to be abolished in all publicly supported schools. Plans were also made to increase the number of trained teachers and various school personnel. As of 1952, the structure of the Ghanaian school system was as follows:

Primary: Grades (forms) 1 through 6
Middle: Grades (forms) 7 through 10
Secondary-Vocational: two years (optional)
Teacher Training: two years
University: two to four years.

Children entered school at age six and were taught basic reading and writing skills. As the children entered school, particularly the children of the far territories, they encountered a structure that they had never experienced and a language that was alien to many of them. English had been adopted as the national language and was taught as a required subject. This was a direct result of both British colonial rule and the fact that Ghana was a country of many languages and not one of these languages was understood or spoken by the majority of the people. English had become the language of the government, administration, and commerce. Thus, anyone who could not understand or converse in English was thought of as disadvantaged.

When children entered school they were taught in the vernacular and English was taught as a second language. As the children progressed through the forms English was gradually substituted for the vernacular, so by the time the children of Ghana reached the seventh form they were expected to know English. All classes from the seventh form on were taught strictly in English.

The Middle school was entered by examination only (the Common Entrance Exam). Those children who did not attend Middle school returned to their traditional African society possibly as weavers, hunters, fishermen, dressmakers, etc. A student was expected to do well in the Middle school (the end of basic education) in order to receive his certificate that would allow him to work in the modern society or would allow him to continue his schooling.

The Secondary school was considered a vocational training ground. The Secondary school was to provide the government with capable personnel in specific areas. Theoretically this was plausible but because the government neglected its responsibilities regarding the secondary schools, there was a dearth of qualified teachers at this level as well as enrollees. The Secondary schools proved to be an obstruction to the government's primary goal — modernization and social and economic advancement.

Although the aim of the Accelerated Plan for Education was to expand as quickly as possible the entire pre-university system, the university system received large sums of money to improve the University of Ghana (which opened in 1948), and the Kumasi College of Technology (which opened in 1952). It also received more money to build more technical colleges and universities. This money that was spent on the university system should have been directed to the Secondary schools.

The Second Development Plan inaugurated in 1959 was short-lived. It called for the improvement of the Secondary schools. This plan was cancelled in 1962 by the President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah. Kwame Nkrumah, the former Prime Minister, was now its President or Quasi-Dictator. He "had the power to revise or cancel any plan he personally felt was not in the best interest of the Ghanaian people."[21]

Though President Nkrumah cancelled the Second Development Plan, he did not leave the nation without an educational scheme. He established the Seven-Year Plan for National Reconstruction and Development. This Seven-Year Plan was to produce a self-sufficient nation — the first and only black world power. The plan had as its aim to teach those skills necessary for the operation of a modern economy — agriculture, mining, and technology. In addition this scheme was to eradicate the problems of the Secondary school system.

To be more specific the Seven-Year Plan for National Reconstruction

and Development was to be in operation from 1963 through 1970 and the plan's educational program — the teaching of skills necessary to a developing nation, was to be brought about through two processes.

> First, it called for reorganizing elementary education and reorienting its upper cycle. At the time only a beginning had been made in reducing the length of the basic general elementary course from 10 to 8 years. The plan called for reducing it further from 8 to 6 years (if the elementary course was not shortened, the plan explained, nearly two million additional children would be enrolled in elementary schools during the 7 years of the plan and none would be available to the labor force before 1970. Such an increase in the elementary school population could not be supported by the economy at the same time as an attempt was being made to implement a program of rapid economic growth) and supplementing it with a 2-year course at a continuing school in which students would be introduced to basic skills of a more specifically economic nature to fit them for life as members of a modern labor force.
>
> To turn out more elementary school teachers, the plan called for expanding teacher-training college enrollments from 5, to 21,000 and the output from 2,000 to 6,000 by 1970. About 31,000 teachers would be produced during the plan period. According to the plan itself, however, it was expected that even with the shortened course about one million more children would be enrolled by 1970 and 37,000 additional teachers would be required; and it was recognized that shortening the course would depend upon a significant upgrading of the teaching staff in the primary schools by replacing untrained pupil teachers with trained ones.
>
> Secondly, the Seven-Year Plan called for laying especially heavy emphasis on expanding secondary education and post-secondary technological and managerial training in technical institutions and universities to meet the needs of the expanding industry, agriculture, and other sectors of the economy foreseen under the plan. Secondary school enrollments were to be increased at a much higher rate than in the past. The intake was to rise to 10,000 in 1964 and 22,000 in 1970, total enrollment to 35,000 in 1964 and 78,000 in 1970, and output to 3,500 in 1964 and 14,000 in 1970. New technical institutions were to be established and larger numbers were to be trained as senior technicians who would fill positions midway between those held by engineers and managers and skilled laborers.[22]

Tuition and textbooks were free for all children in the public school system — primary, middle and secondary levels. Free tuition and free textbooks provided equal educational opportunities for all children regardless of their family income. Despite the aim of the Seven-Year Plan to stress those subjects and vocations Ghana needed to become a self-

sufficient nation, education continued to be academic in nature. Because of this a great number of students were departing the educational system after middle school. These children had a nonspecific education; they were not equipped to be part of the modern labor force. Consequently, the number of unemployed swelled and there was a lack of senior technicians. Again, "secondary education, which had consistently been scantily funded, was clearly the bottleneck in the system."[23] The enrollment at the university level remained low because of the dearth of qualified secondary school graduates and this paucity caused a crisis for Ghana in the field of science.

The Seven-Year Plan laudable in its aims "did nothing to allay the fears and anxieties of the people who were becoming more and more frustrated, what with the increasing prices, diminishing freedom of expression, preventive custody and a wicked budget."[24] Therefore, on February 24, 1966, Nkrumah's rule which was considered dictatorial at home and Communist-oriented by the Western world was overthrown while President Kwame Nkrumah was visiting Communist China.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL'S EDUCATIONAL PLAN

The National Liberation Council (N.L.C.) tempered by the free spending of the Nkrumah years opted for a policy of financial restraint. Kwame Nkrumah's Seven-Year Plan for National Reconstruction and Development was discarded in March of 1966 by the N.L.C. The N.L.C. then "appointed the Education Review Committee to undertake a comprehensive review of the entire formal educational system and of research in Ghana."[25] This was a prodigious undertaking; consequently, its findings would not be immediately forthcoming. Because the Education Review Committee's findings were not imminent, the National Liberation Council was compelled to take interim measures that would immediately curtail spending. The N.L.C. took the following measures to insure constrained spending in the area of education: 1) parents were to pay a portion of the textbook fee; 2) the haphazard increase in the number of primary schools was discontinued; 3) reigns were tightened on university spending (ex. overseas scholarships); and 4) no changes would be sought at this time to improve or increase secondary education.

The National Liberation Council's White Paper of 1968 was a response to the statements made in the Education Review Committee's Report. The White Paper implies that the Education Review Committee's Report and the endeavors of the educational sphere have reinforced Nkrumah's system of education and have reinforced the plan for educational advancement but have not allowed for the snowballing costs of the inherited system. The White Paper intimates that the educational sphere needs an examination that would contemplate the possibility of a change in policy with respect to conquering the burgeoning expenses of education.

An objective of the N.L.C. was to put into effect an educational policy that would be economically feasible and at the same time enhance the primary goal of the government — modernization and the social and economic advancement for Ghana. The N.L.C. believed the Two-Year Development Plan was the basis for accomplishing this objective. The Two-Year Development Plan would rectify the ill planned and coordinated programs of the past and would concentrate on the type of education that would give Ghana a population that could effectively contribute to its economic and social development. Middle level education became the main concern for the National Liberation Council because it was at this juncture in education that the students could be endowed with the means to provide a positive affect on Ghana's economic and social development.

> The priority given to secondary education has been not only a response to the real demands of the economy for middle- and high-level manpower in certain fields but also — and perhaps largely — a response to the building popular pressures for secondary school places, both at Form I and Sixth Form levels, which were the inevitable consequence of the earlier decisions to expand both elementary and secondary education.
>
> . . .Thus, since 1968-69, secondary education, technical education and teacher training have received greater emphasis. This trend is quite in accord with the recommendation made by the Education Review Committee in 1967 and accepted by the government in 1968 that the middle level of education, covering secondary, technical, commercial and vocational, and teacher education was the area to which the national effort should be directed.[26]

The Two-Year Development Plan was to equalize other educational imbalances such as these: improving and reforming the nature of primary education; curtailing the growth of university education; and suiting university education to the needs of the country.

The National Liberation Council ruled for three years and then turned the government over to the duly elected rule of Dr. K.S. Busia. Dr. Busia's government developed its own scheme — the One-Year Development Plan. This plan reiterated the theme of the Two-Year Development Plan — "the lessons of the past underscore the need to strengthen the secondary base in advance of university education."[27] Both post-coup governments believed that technical education had been neglected so more money was made available to this educational realm.

The Two-Year Development Plan and the One-Year Development Plan produced other educational changes. These alterations affected the spheres of structure, curriculum and administration.

The post-coup governments continued and completed the

> structural process started in 1962 under the Nkrumah government. This consisted of gradually introducing, in place of 6-year primary and 4-year middle school courses, a new 8-year basic course of elementary education followed by further 2-year courses for those not selected for secondary school by the end of their eighth year.
>
> At both the elementary and the secondary levels, curriculum reform has been a major objective of educational policy. Over the years the growing number of young people who have left elementary and secondary schools with only an academic or general education has, as the One-Year Development Plan stated, 'drawn increasing attention to the problem of relevance in education and how the schools can equip their pupils for careers in life.[28]

The post-coup governments took measures that insured the inclusion of prevocational and vocational education within basic education. These consecutive governments accomplished curriculum reform by

> (1) establishing an increasing number of 'continuation classes' in the 9th and 10th years of elementary education to give pupils not selected for secondary education basic preparation for different types of occupations, and (2) diversifying the secondary curriculum by introducing such subjects as commerce, agriculture, domestic science, metalwork, woodwork, and technical drawing.[29]

A major curriculum change affected by the Busia government was the restructuring of the language policy. The previous language policy demanded that English be taught to the Ghanaians in the early years of their formal education, but the Busia language policy stipulated that the local languages could be retained during Ghanaians' early years of formal education.

These post-coup governments pinpointed faults in the educational system regarding administration, planning and coordination. The governments not only identified these faults but

> made changes designed to (1) better coordinate the administration and development of pre-university education and university education, (2) better coordinate the development of university education, and (3) improve the planning and administration of pre-university education.[30]

Although, the Busia government had taken a sensible approach to the reforming and the funding of education, it was not so wise in other areas and consequently "the debt and the balance of payments position remained a serious restraint on development expenditures and economic growth."[31] Equipped with this fact and the fact that the government was responsible for Ghana's currency being devalued and the subsequent soaring prices, the Ghanaian Armed Forces removed Dr. K.A. Busia

from office on the thirteenth of January 1972.

THE NATIONAL REDEMPTION COUNCIL'S EDUCATIONAL SCHEME

This new government, formed by the leaders of the Armed Forces, referred to itself as the National Redemption Council. The National Redemption Council (N.R.C.) was headed by Colonel I.K. Acheampong. Shortly after Dr. Busia was deposed Colonel Acheampong elucidated the reasons for the coup:

> . . . the aim of the Armed Forces on 13th January was to rescue this country from the financial mismanagement of the previous Government which had brought it to the verge of economic collapse. It was also to rescue the country from the hands of a Government which had become increasingly insensitive to the feelings and sufferings of the very people who elected it into power. In the short space of two years the Government had harassed them with a series of harsh economic and other measures of varying severity and had flagrantly flouted the Constitution which formed the basis of the protection of the individuals.[32]

The educational system of Ghana was riddled with problems and the N.R.C. sought a solution for this scathed system. One significant flaw in the educational system was the length of formal education. Another fault of the educational plan was its inability to meet the present and future manpower needs and, consequently, the system was contributing to the growing number of unemployed. Still another flaw was the exclusion of the poor and the unabated spending at the university level.

Colonel Acheampong felt that each Ghanaian had the "inalienable right to free education and to the free and unfettered development of his social and cultural well being."[33] Because of Colonel Acheampong's belief, the government delegated to the Ministry of Education the responsibility of formulating a committee to consider the government's proposal on education and to elicit the public's comments regarding education. The National Redemption Council was indeed a unique ruling body as opposed to the previous governments. Previous governments had not actively sought the public's views in any areas. These omnipotent governments needed no input from the Ghanaians.

The Ministry of Education's findings closely paralleled Colonel Acheampong's view of the educational system. The committee found that 1) the educational system was ineffective — it did not meet Ghana's political, social and economic needs; 2) the educational system was undemocratic, for although primary education was obligatory, only one quarter of the school age children attended classes; 3) the middle school was exclusive. The committee stated: "This selective aspect of our education system does not work only against the interest of those who

have gifts of a nonintellectual kind, but it develops a selfish attitude through its insistence on keen competition"[34]; and 4) the educational system lacked free kindergartens.

In light of the committee's findings the government made some dramatic changes in the educational system. In April 1974, the Government announced the specifics of the streamlined educational system.

> It allows for kindergarten education for the age group of four to six, lasting between 18 months and two years. A basic first cycle education, extending over six years primary plus three years junior secondary education, will be compulsory and free for all. A 'second cycle education' will follow the junior secondary stage and will prepare pupils for senior secondary lower courses leading to '0' level technical and commercial courses. Pupils from the senior secondary lower courses wishing to continue formal education and with the necessary qualifications will proceed to a senior secondary upper course leading to 'A' level, a teacher training course or a polytechnic course.
>
> The medium of instruction for the first three years of the primary course will be the main Ghanaian language spoken in each area. In addition, the children will learn one other Ghanaian language and the study of Ghanaian languages will be made compulsory from primary to university level. English will be learned from the first year at school and will gradually become the medium of expression as from primary class four. French will be introduced.[35]

Regarding the medium of instruction for the first three years, it is apparent that some preliminary steps will be necessary before this model of instruction can actually be implemented in the manner in which it is stated in the decree. One preliminary step is to have the teacher training colleges offer competency courses in the Ghanaian languages and have the teacher training colleges employ language specialists to teach these courses. Another preliminary step is to have more teaching materials available in the various Ghanaian languages (a few of the Ghanaian languages do have systems of writing). Still another possible step is to have only teachers with an expertise in the local languages hired for the kindergarten level positions and the positions at the 'basic first cycle' of education.

Colonel Acheampong was using educational reform as the vehicle to motivate the people of Ghana. The educational snobbery perpetrated by the previous governments left the Ghanaians with a distaste for manual labor. These pre-N.R.C. governments had not prepared the average urban Ghanaians for an active role in their economic and social growth, let alone prepare the poor rural Ghanaians. Colonel Acheampong was cognizant of the fact that, if Ghana were to emerge as a truly developed nation, all Ghanaians would have to believe that they were part of the government and that physical skills and intellectual prowess were equally

important to the development of a nation. The Ghanaian at the grass-roots level had to be made aware that he was essential to all affairs that affect his life. The National Redemption Council held the belief that self-awareness could be obtained through a reformed educational system that encompassed all of society. Thus, this sensitive government saw the education of all sectors of society as necessary if modernization and social and economic advancement were to catapult Ghana into the role of a developed nation.

GHANA IN THE PRESENT

It has been noted that Ghana's economy needs improvement but that is not to imply that it is feeble. It is actually "... one of the strongest in middle Africa."[36] Agriculture is the mainstay of Ghana's economy. Ghana is the world's foremost producer of cocoa and it is Ghana's chief cash crop and export. Forestry and mining are gaining in significance while industry is virtually an untapped resource.

Ghana is experiencing rapid urbanization; Ghanaians are leaving their rural settings and opting for the urban way of life even though many do not have marketable skills. The migration from rural areas to towns and the number of middle school leavers have created a high unemployment rate.

The 1970 census reveals that Ghana has one of the world's youngest populations. "About 47% of the people were under 15 years of age. . . . The education of this extremely large youthful population places a very heavy burden on the comparatively small active adult population and the Government."[37]

CURRENT INFLUENCES ON THE EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE

The econony and the population place restrictions on the educational structure as well as exerting positive influences on the educational schema. The economy is finally stabilizing after the chaotic spending of the previous regimes, but it is still unable to fund all areas of education. The Government must limit its spending to the areas of education that would most benefit the economy at this time. The youthful population of Ghana places a tremendous burden on the Government. The Government has promised 'free education' for all its people. This is an awesome challenge.

The economy despite its restrictions on the educational structure is responsible for a movement in education that places emphasis on physical skills. Previously in education there was not an incentive to become a laborer. "Prestige and greater income went with desk jobs, so that even those who received a technical education preferred to work in the civil service or in teaching positions."[38] Consequently, the government placed more emphasis on agriculture, the mainstay of the economy, not

only in the academic area of research but also in the training of skilled farmers who could work the land knowledgeable and profitably.

The population despite its size and youthfulness is responsible for the implementation of the Science Education Programme for Africa (SEPA) and for the changes in the language policy. The Science Education Programme is a means of making education more meaningful for the Ghanaians. It is building upon their traditional background while the use of the vernacular in teaching serves as a vehicle to make the transition from traditional education (informal) to formal school experiences less awesome. These curriculum changes with emphasis on physical skills and on traditional jobs are ways of keeping the Ghanaian culture alive.

Dedicated to the belief that science is applicable to and occupies every component of the Ghanaians' daily lives, SEPA advances the opinion

> that science is a medium through which a child might develop his natural curiosity, his powers of observation and enquiry, and constructive attitudes to problem-solving and decision making. These are fundamental qualities of an education which has particular relevance to the total African environment and which fosters the child's understanding of his world and his own potentialities. As such, at the primary level, the SEPA approach is in direct contrast to the subject-oriented academic view of science. Instead, it cuts across subject barriers and rejects specialization in favour of an integration of the many areas of scientific knowledge, as well as integration of the scientific method with the process of human development.[39]

Much controversy has surrounded the language policy. It is not the point that English is the adopted language of Ghana but rather at what level of instruction should English be formally taught and used as the sole mode of expression; also, what position should the Ghanaian languages be afforded in the educational schema? Emerging from this controversy is the belief that young children have more profitable educational experiences if they are initially taught in the vernacular for

> . . . the full expression of the cultural identity and dignity of the nation demands the development of the vernacular languages and their assured and respectable place in our educational system. If the Ghanaian, for that matter the African, is to have roots in the way of life into which he is born and in which his earliest emotional and social experiences have their setting, he must be taught an appreciation of the culture of his people and his mother tongue in which that culture finds its fullest expression. Otherwise, our educational system will only succeed in producing men and women who are linguistically, and, therefore, culturally, 'displaced persons.'[40]

CONCLUSION

"Education is a process that attempts to ensure the cultural continuation of the group, race or nation. . . . It transmits skills, knowledge, modes of inquiry, and values from the mature to the immature, either informally through the milieu or formal through the school."[41] The Ghanaians, the people and the government, are now working together to guarantee 'the cultural continuation' of their nation rather than obliterating it, as was the aim of all the ruling parties before Colonel Acheampong took office.

Colonel Acheampong is now a general. General Acheampong is Head of State and Chairman of the Supreme Military Council and is responsible for the Ghanaians' acceptance of a new type of government. In March 1978, the people of Ghana voted 'yes' to Union Government. Union Government, technically, had no political part as its base. General Acheampong described Union Government as "a community type of government which will make use of all available talents. . . ."[42]

Over the years General Acheampong has sought to attain social and economic advancement for Ghana without sacrificing the identity of its people. The primary goal, modernization and social and economic advancement, no longer debases the people of Ghana but rather elevates them to a position of supreme importance. This shift of emphasis has occurred because the educational plan created by the National Redemption Council is predicated on the belief that a society aware of its educational needs and its own potential has the capability of becoming a developed nation.

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[2] L.J. Lewis, *Education and Political Development in Africa*, (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1962), p. 3.

[3] Betty Stein George, *Education In Ghana*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 1.

[4] Lewis, *Education and Political Development in Africa*, p. 3.

[5] David G. Scanlon, *Church, State and Education in Africa:* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University), p. 7.

[6] George, *Education In Ghana*, p. 1.

[7] *Africa: South of the Sahara 1977-78* (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1977), p. 404.

[8] Aliu Babs Fafunwa, "Directions in African Childhood Education," *Childhood Education* 53 (March 1977): 250.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., p. 251.

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[12] Ibid., p. 253.

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[15] Scanlon, *Church, State, and Education in Africa*, p. 7.

[16] Lewis, *Education and Political Development in Africa*, p. 6.

[17] Gray L. Cowan, *Education and Nation-Building in Africa* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publications, 1965), p. 11.

[18] Scanlon, *Church, State, and Education in Africa*, p. 13.

[19] Ibid., p. 26.

[20] Ibid., p. 24.

[21] Lewis, *Education and Political Development in Africa*, p. 14.

[22] George, *Education In Ghana*, pp. 45-46.

[23] Ibid., p. 52.

[24] "At 21: Ghana Comes of Age," *New Ghana* no. 2 (1978), p. 1.

[25] George, *Education In Ghana*, p. 53.

[26] Ibid., pp. 56-57.

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[28] Ibid., p. 59.

[29] Ibid., pp. 59-60.

[30] Ibid., p. 60.

[31] Ibid., p. 12.

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[33] Colin Legum, ed., *African Contemporary Record: Annual Survey and Documents 1972-73* (New York: African Publishing Corporation, 1973), p. C173.

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[38] Thomas Patrick Melady, *The White Man's Future In Black Africa* (New York: Macfadden-Bartell Corporation, 1962), p. 70.

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PART II

The Legacy of Educational Thought

Isocrates: Pillar of Western Education

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I can declare my purpose in writing this paper in no better way than by using the words of Isocrates himself.

> I shall try, as best I can, to explain what is the nature of this education, what is its power, what of the other arts it is akin to, what benefit it is to its devotees, and what claims I can make for it.[1]

Isocrates has habitually been neglected by historians of education in favour of his much more glamorous contemporaries, Plato and Aristotle. This is quite understandable, in view of their overwhelming contributions to thought in the West and their consequent pre-eminent positions as seminal philosophers. However, it behooves us, as historians of education, to ensure that Isocrates not be completely overshadowed by his great peers. It is historically important that his contribution to Western Education be acknowledged and that he be accorded his rightful place in the History of Education.

It is true that of late more attention has been paid to the old failed logographer and teacher supreme, especially in History of Education textbooks. The texts of Meyer, Frost and Bailey, Pounds, and Good and Teller come most readily to mind.[2] The resurgence of interest in Isocrates probably owes most to H.I. Marrou, whose 1956 work *The History of Education in Antiquity*[3] included an attempt to place the relative contributions of Plato and Isocrates in perspective. They were, he declared, "like two pillars, like two sturdy Atlantes, the figures of these two great teachers, balancing and as though answering each other, 'parallel and complementary.' "[4] He was forthright in his judgement. "On the whole," he argued, "it was Isocrates, not Plato, who educated Fourth Century Greece and subsequently the Hellenistic and Roman worlds."[5] This is a substantial claim and one which I support and which is, I believe, supported by the available evidence. There is no doubt, in any event, that the influence of Isocrates on, and his contribution to, Western educational thought is both considerable and long lasting.

For example, we may note the influence of Isocrates on Cicero. This influence, freely acknowledge by Cicero, is one of both content and style, as Hubbell reminded us,[6] and there is no question of the subsequent influence of both Cicero and, therefore, Isocrates, on Quintilian and hence on Renaissance educational thought and practice. The well-educated man, from the time of Isocrates and even more from the time of

Cicero, has always been the man with a literary education; and it was he, it was ever believed, who, as a consequence, could lead an army, found a colony, or run a government department. This belief, I reiterate, for right or wrong, good or bad, began with Isocrates. Insofar as Humanism has pervaded Western Education, Isocrates' influence must be felt, for as Marrou declared, "Isocrates appears as the original fountain-head of the whole great current of Humanist scholarship."[7]

Isocrates' place in the History of educational thought should be secure, therefore, not least because the pillar which he constructed has stood to this day, supporting the edifice of Western Education. To switch metaphors, the strand which he wove into educational thought has persisted and remained a fundamental element in education. It is a strand which is concerned with judgement and sound opinion rather than with absolute truth; with language and its usage rather than with philosophy and its techniques; with, in fact, rhetoric rather than philosophy. Isocrates wished to educate men who could carry on the day-to-day business of affairs, who would try to make the best possible judgements, even in situations which were not always clear-cut, and who would eschew the niceties and lofty pronouncements of philosopher-kings.

Isocrates is a progenitor of democratic methods. He is one of the midwives attending the birth of parliaments, where argument and discussion are used to convince and to persuade and where authority does not issue from the mouth of a gun, but from the mouth of an orator.

Isocrates believed firmly in the orator's need for education. He thought that no matter what natural attributes a man had, it was necessary for him to be schooled in the art of the rhetorician. He believed in the need for a general education first, to produce a cultured and knowledgeable man possessed of *paideia*, who could then become skilled in speaking and writing and in the arts of persuasion and argument. These beliefs stemmed in no small way from his own education and, indeed, his own life.

He was born in 436 B.C. and died in 338. Thus, as a baby, he lived in the last days of the Age of Pericles and, as an old man, he wrote a letter to the youthful Alexander the Great. His contemporaries comprise an unsurpassed list of great and talented men, politicians, orators, historians, dramatists, comedians, poets, sophists and philosophers. He bridged the gap between the city-state and the Hellenistic Empire. He saw the flowering and the high point of Greek and specifically Athenian culture and the beginning of its collapse.

The great age he attained also afforded him the opportunity to write most of his major works. *On the Peace*, the *Areopagiticus*, the *Antidosis*, *To Philip* and the *Panathenaicus* were all written after his eightieth birthday.

His father, Theodoros, was a slave-owning flute manufacturer,[8] a fact

which the comedians did not let Isocrates forget, not least because flute girls might be had for hire, for one purpose or another, not necessarily musical in nature. Theodoros was rich enough to have been nominated *choregus*[9] and to have provided Isocrates with an extensive and expensive education. His teachers included the most notable sophists of his day, Prodicos of Chios, Gorgias of Leontini, Tisias of Syracuse, the Athenian orator Theramenes, Protagoras and not least Socrates.[10] He was also influenced by Euripides.[11]

Until his early thirties Isocrates enjoyed the life of a well-to-do and earnest student. However, during the Peloponnesian War he lost his patrimony, already shrunken by the cost of state functions levied on his father and the educational expenses he had incurred himself.[12] So he went to work as a logographer, that is a writer of forensic speeches for use by others in litigation. He was never proud of this activity and subsequently denied that he had ever done it.[13] However, several of his logographic works exist, for example, *The Team of Horses*, which is also mentioned in Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*.[14] The argument that the speeches were written as exercises for his students does not hold water. In any case he does not seem to have been very good at logography because Aristotle remarked that volumes and volumes of his legal speeches lay gathering dust in the bookshops.[15]

However, Isocrates fairly soon found something more congenial to his taste, for sometime in either 392 or 391 B.C. he opened a school for young men, which was to continue in existence up to the time of his death and which was to bring him fame and fortune.[16] The fortune enabled him to marry, fairly late in life. His bride was Plathene, the widow of the orator Hippias and he adopted her son Aphareus, who was, and remained, one of his firmest supporters.[17] Isocrates also had a relationship with the courtesan Lagiska, another tid-bit which the comedians loved.

He died in 338, on the day of the Burial of the Chaeronean Dead. The cause of death was probably chronic dysentry, combined with old age and not, despite Milton's Tenth Sonnet, suicide caused by grief at the outcome of the battle. In fact, his last literary effort was a letter written to Philip, the victor of Chaeronea and it certainly does not reflect deep dismay.[18]

He was a curious mixture of courage, cowardice, compassion, self-pity, bombastic utterances, boastfulness, realistic thinking, longings for peace, farsightedness and love for his students, a love which seems to have been reciprocated. He was boring, fascinating, diligent, pompous, altruistic, egocentric, successful, disappointed, realistic and disillusioned. Besides, Isocrates virtually invented autobiography, which is why we know so much about what he thought he was like.

Isocrates was essentially a teacher. Although he had strong political views and even some political influence, and had a great faith in the

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persuasive power of language, he was shy and diffident and besides had a weak speaking voice.[19] Therefore he never appeared in public life, but contented himself with writing political discourses and writing letters and offering advice to politicians and statesmen of his day. He was politically conservative, yet capable of urging radical departures from accepted policies and procedures, as for instance when he embraced the idea of Macedonian hegemony, as a way of at last bringing peace and unity to Hellas. He had an unwavering belief in PanHellenism and in *paideia*, which were, in his view, but two aspects of the same concept. Culture, or *paideia*, was a product of education and was the opposite of barbarism. It was both the unifying force of PanHellenism and the object of its devotion. A cultured man, by definition, was a Hellene. This common ideas was the notion that he tried to infuse in his students.

His students were, on the whole, successful in becoming what he advocated, princes and tyrants, who were capable of administering their principalities and city-states with efficiency and good judgement. We know of about 40 of his pupils,[20] who provide shining examples of men dedicated to good government in contrast to the known pupils of Plato, whose efforts to establish model Republics almost all ended in failure and usually in blood, treachery, deceit and death.[21]

Isocrates' students were the beneficiaries of two schools or developments of thought. One originated in the East, in Ionia and one in the West, in Sicily. They came together in Athens, making her the intellectual as well as the mercantile centre of the Mediterranean world. The Ionian ideas were scientific and philosophical in nature and were promulgated by men who were termed eminent specialists, *sophistes*, or as we would say, sophists.[22] The Sicilian contribution was Rhetoric, "the art of speaking in the assembly.[23] As early as the first half of the Fifth Century B.C., Rhetoric had taken hold on the island and it is said that Corax composed a textbook on the subject.[24] In any event, it seems inevitable that Athens, with its own tradition of speaking in the assembly and its noted orators, should embrace the new *techne* and that the Sophists should seize upon it both for its power and usefulness and also for its teachability. Allied with the science and philosophy of Ionia, Rhetoric gave Athenian thinkers unprecedented intellectual and linguistic tools. Isocrates taught his students how to use these tools and taught them in a new and special way. This way is of great significance. It was simply to compose speeches and not merely deliver them. Isocrates, by doing so, changed oratory from a concern with *extempore* speech-making and the spoken word, to a concern with the set speech and the written word.[25] This apparently slight shift in emphasis has had and continues to have an incalculable effect on the philosophy and the practice of education. It marks the beginning of literary education. It added immeasurably to the idea of a liberal education as later advocated by Aristotle.[26]

Isocrates' ideas on education are clear. They are set out in *Against the*

Sophists and in the *Antidosis* and are often expressed or referred to elsewhere in his works. The base on which the education of a man should rest, as previously indicated was *paideia*, the idea of culture. This is a view common to Greek educators. Indeed, Isocrates stresses many of the aspects of education that were generally practiced in Greece in his lifetime. For example, he asserts the importance of *sophrosyne*, self control, and likens it to patriotism.[27] He ascribes the success of Athenians "to sobriety and self-control."[28] He declares that "the most sovereign of the virtues are temperance and justice,"[29] and that "justice and temperance are the possessions of the good and noble alone."[30] *Sophrosyne* is an element of *arete*, of virtue, but it must not be mistaken for Christian virtue or even Roman *virtus*. *Arete* is closer, in many ways to the medieval notion of honour, but in many other ways to the more oriental notion of face. Achilles, for example, sulking in his tent, demonstrated considerable *arete*. As Werner Jaegar commented, "*Paideia* brought to perfection is *arete* — the highest of all goods."[31]

But *paideia*, the prelude to *arete*, is to a very great extent the product of education and in Isocratean theory, of the force of *logos*. *Logos* is, in fact, the central focus of Isocrates' thinking on education, not least because it brings the learner closer to *doxa*, the forming of sound opinions. *Doxa* is a function, then, of *logos*, which was, therefore, to be studied for eminently practical reasons.

Logos, has a multiplicity of meanings, which are largely determined by context. Most generally, in Isocrates' works, it means 'the command of language.' However, it may also mean 'a word,' 'a talk,' 'a rumour,' 'prose,' 'a book,' 'a speech,' 'reason,' 'esteem,' 'language,' and, in the plural, 'histories,' or 'a chronicle.' It also meant 'the right to speak,' and 'the thing spoken of.' Isocrates often uses it to mean 'the discourse,' sometimes 'the manner of speaking,' or 'the subject matter.' It can also mean 'a courtroom speech,' 'the cause,' 'the power of speech,' 'assertions,' and 'a debate.'

Clearly, to Isocrates, *logos* was more than a word meaning 'a word.' *Logos* implied an educational and philosophical force at the heart of which lay the combination of good speaking and right thinking. The one, he held, is impossible without the other. To teach the student, as far as possible, how to put the right word to the right thought at the right time, is the essence of education for Isocrates. "The right word is a sure sign of good thinking,"[32] and, as Marrou has suggested, this is truly profound, perhaps more profound than Isocrates realized.[33]

To master *logos* is to learn how to persuade. *Logos* could be used politically to sway a whole nation, or it could be the source of personal benefits, particularly moral benefits. "The stronger a man's desire to persuade his hearers, the more seriously will he strive to be honourable and to have the esteem of his fellow citizens."[34] We hear echoes of this in Cicero and subsequently Quintilian.

Isocrates wrote a Hymn to *logos*, akin to Plato's Hymn to Dialectic. It is a celebration of the powers of *logos* and of its civilizing and cultivating influence, with its potential for changing people and indeed the world. So important did he consider the Hymn, that he, in fact wrote it three times. First, in the aptly named *Panegyricus*,[35] then in the *Nicocles*[36] and finally, in its most developed form, in the *Antidosis*.[37] There are also many other instances throughout his writings when *logos* is praised, as it were, incidentally. It is not, however, that Isocrates believed that *logos* had miraculous powers or offered infallible solutions. He declared, quite bluntly, that:

> I consider that kind of art which can implant honesty and justice in depraved natures has never existed and does not now exist. . . . But I do hold that people can become better and worthier if they conceive an ambition to speak well, if they become possessed of the desire to persuade their hearers and finally, if they set their hearts on seizing the advantage.[38]

The advantage, *pleonexia*, for Isocrates, meant "to gain advantage without the sacrifice of virtue.[39] *Logos* should be used to gain only true advantage. He was aware — how could he not be? — of the stock charge against Rhetoric from the time of Corax and Tisias that it could be perverted "to make the weaker cause appear the stronger."[40] But he believed that *logos* should be used only in the pursuit of *arete*, virtue. Indeed, in his view *pleonexia* and *arete* were indissolubly mixed together, through, of course, *logos*. For it was inconceivable to him that any one should be able to master *logos* in the fullest sense and not be virtuous, imbued with *arete*, especially as he held that the higher powers of *logos* be used only on matters of high moment such as PanHellenism and other affairs of state. To be trained in *logos* was to be trained, first and foremost, in the arts of politics and hence in education, morality, religion and honour. In essence, it is *logos* that differentiates man from animals, that makes man truly human and on which the very survival of the species depends.

> For in the other powers which we possess we are in no respect superior to other living creatures; nay, we are inferior to many in swiftness and strength and in other resources.[41]

Not least, this is because *logos* is the power of thought as well as of speech and together they give men "the power to persuade each other and to make clear to each other."[42] Thus man can go beyond mere survival and begin instead to prevail over his environment. It is thus that man renounces force and becomes civilized. Similarly, the greater the mastery of *logos* shown by a people, the greater their level of civilization. Barbarians who master *logos* become as Hellenes, which title would then be "applied rather to those who share our common culture than to those who share a common blood."[43] *Logos*, therefore, can create a brotherhood of man. This notion prefigures Christianity and has, in place of a

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common ethic, a common culture.

Education, of course, is entirely a function of, and is dependent on, *logos*. "Through this we educate the ignorant and appraise the wise."[44] Even the wise are in thrall to *logos*. It, like education, is a life-long necessity, a guide to both the ethical nature of man and his cultural attainments. *Logos* must be at the heart of any educational system with any pretensions to culture. But culture may not necessarily be practical. *Logos* was also useful in action and action typically takes the form of wise judgement, sound opinion, of *doxa*.

Doxa affords few semantic problems. It does, however, afford a nice illustration of the political, one might say, nature of the translator's art. Simply put, *doxa* is translated as 'judgement' in the works of Isocrates and as 'mere opinion' in the works of Plato. This is because in the Allegory of the Divided Line[45] *doxa* falls into the second category, *pistis*, of the epistemology contrived by Plato, falling below both the third category, *episteme*, and the fourth, *noesis*. *Doxa*, in other words, falls far short of true knowledge.

The difference between Plato and Isocrates is thus made clear. The highest intellectual level for the former is knowledge of the Good, *To Agathon*, Absolute Truth. This struck Isocrates as, if not absurd, at best unattainable. For him, the highest intellectual attainment was sound judgement, *doxa*, arrived at by effective use of language, *logos*. It was *doxa* and not *episteme*, which fathered *sophia*, wisdom.[46]

He did not believe, as Plato did, that knowledge and wisdom could be equated, nor did he believe in the teachability of virtue, any more than in the teachability of the aesthetic sense. His view was that education could help inborn virtue and sensibility develop and, once they had developed, they would have great value in helping to form *doxa*, and thus in the making of decisions. The purpose of education, therefore, was to make men capable of judging and deciding. There are no superhuman philosopher-kings in Isocrates, but only men who, by their powers of conjecture, *doxais*, "arrive generally at the best course."[47] That is the true and only accessible *sophia*. Whereas Plato hoped for men who, by means of education would know the answer to any problem, Isocrates, in his awareness of the imperfectability of man, hoped only to produce in his students the ability to make as many right decisions, in as many situations, and as often, as possible. As Marrou said:

> Isocrates himself chose as his particular province something that was a good deal more practical, and also a matter of urgent necessity; he educated his pupils for life, particularly political life, preferring to teach them to be able to form sensible opinions about things that were useful rather than spend their time in hair-splitting about points that were utterly useless.[48]

Exact knowledge is beyond the reach of man and, therefore, he must fall back on *doxa*. The aim of education, then, is to have students master *logos* in order to help them arrive at *doxa*. They could be taught kairos, opportuneness, and *to prepon*, fittingness, but not *to agathon*.

It is in light of these lowered expectations of the power of education that the undeniable superiority of Isocrates' school is to be understood. Jebb in *The Attic Orator* put it this way.

> Aristotle stands alone. Yet the school of Aristotle . . . in which Rhetoric was both scientific and assiduously taught, produced not a single orator of note except Demetrios Phalereus. The School of Isocrates produced a host. Why was this so? Clearly because Isocrates, though inferior in his grasp of principles, was greatly superior in the practical department of teaching.[49]

This assessment is not wholly fair to Aristotle. After the Battle of Chaeronea and the establishment of the Macedonian Empire, there were far fewer opportunities for orators to display their talents in democratic assemblies and, therefore, less opportunity for his students to make names for themselves. Nor is the assessment entirely fair to Isocrates. The principles that Jebb refers to are rhetorical principles, *techne*, and it is worth noting that Aristotle's *Rhetorica* is replete with references to Isocrates as an accepted and acceptable authority on the very principles to which Jebb refers.[50] Isocrates is inferior to Aristotle in this regard, though not, I would suggest, in the principles which underly their respective approaches to the teaching of rhetorical skills.

Isocrates had little time for *techne*, insofar as they were theoretical principles and this may be where his advantage over Aristotle as a teacher lay. Aristotle loaded his students down with theory and gave them little opportunity for practice. Practice, *meletai*, was at the centre of Isocrates' teaching and not *techne*. He was critical of those who attempted to teach *techne*.

> I marvel when I observe those men setting themselves up as instructors of youth, who cannot see that they are applying the analogy of an art, with hard and fast rules, to a creative process.[51]

He believed that a mastery of *logos* required a degree of skill and a kind of creativity quite foreign to other arts. He held that there were qualities in *logos* which had to be sensed rather than understood and which did not, therefore, lend themselves to any system of rules, any *techne*. He had no time for textbooks, therefore, which were merely compendia of rules, not least, because his teaching methods were based on the needs of his students and not on the demands of a *techne*. The stress is placed upon the process of learning to master language and not on the demands of a *techne*. However, none of this could be accomplished in a vacuum. His

students had to be taught something, even it was not a *techne*, and we can in fact discern what subjects made up the curriculum at his school.

It has been claimed that there are fourteen subjects in the Isocratean curriculum.[52] They are: Rhetoric, Grammar, Style, Speech Writing and Delivery, Local Studies, History, Archaeology, Law, Religion, Practical Wisdom, Geography, Political Science, Strategy and Philosophy. To which one could quite easily add Poetry and Diplomacy and as easily drop Archaeology and perhaps also Law, except in a general sense. I do not think this a particularly useful list and would suggest instead that the Isocratean curriculum consisted of the study of *logos*, in its three major aspects, the study of the Language, the Literature and the History of Greece. One way or another the study of these three aspects can subsume any of the others already mentioned.

Students came to the school after a traditional grounding in reading, writing and counting and in sundry arts such as were essential to a well-born Greek, perhaps the tuning of a lyre and the appreciation of a verse.[53] The boys, adolescents in our parlance, would have been well-grounded in Literature, particularly Homer, and also in Grammar. This was the work for schoolboys and in Isocrates' view the essential preparation for the study of *logos*.

Isocrates recommended that his students read his discourses but not neglect the rest of Greek Literature, to lessen the chance that they merely compose speeches which were carbon copies of his. They were to obtain information as well as inspiration from their reading, particularly of poetry. But he believed that it was not only Homer who could be used to inspire the youth of the day, nor only mythical characters such as Heracles and Theseus, but also real historical personages.[54] So it was that Isocrates introduced History into the curriculum. Of course, he did not invent History, but he was the first person to explicitly recognize its educative value and insert it into a course of instruction.

> Reflect on the fortunes and accidents which befall both common men and kings, for if you are mindful of the past you will plan better for the future.[55]

Sentiments which, no doubt, we all agree with. History is, according to Isocrates of course, the handmaiden of *logos*.

> For the deeds of the past are, indeed, an inheritance common to us all; but the ability to make proper use of them at the appropriate time, to conceive the proper sentiments about them in each instance, and to set them forth in finished phrase is the peculiar gift of the wise.[56]

The study of History is closely connected, in his view, to the study of Morality, because of the moral lessons that can be drawn and the comparisons that can be made with the past. Usually these comparisons do not favour the present.

> The most promising of our young men are wasting their youth in drinking bouts, in parties, in soft living and childish follies . . . while those of a grosser nature are engaged from morning until night in extremes of dissipation which in former days an honest slave would have despised. You see some of them chilling their wine at the 'Nine Fountains;' others tossing dice in gambling dens and many hanging about the training schools of the flute girls. I discourage such habits in my pupils.[57]

In the *Areopagiticus* he speaks warmly of the old rulers of Athens who "restrained the people from wrongdoing in both ways — by punishment and watchfulness."[58]

But Morality was not the only topic he linked to History. Isocrates commented frequently on various laws and showed how History could be used to analyze them and place them in perspective. Especially did he doubt the efficacy of laws as a means of regulating human conduct and that was a major lesson to be learnt from History.

Perhaps most importantly History could teach how life should be lived, because in the past it had been lived correctly. The *Areopagiticus* was written to prove the point. It is a determined call for a return to past standards of behaviour and to the ways of the past. In this, he and Plato are in agreement, for both called for a return to the old council of the Areopagus with its old authority over the laws, customs, taste and education of the citizens.[59] The *Areopagiticus* is not only a blueprint for the future, by way of a return to the past, it is also in the nature of a History textbook for his students. We may be sure that many of them read it.

On the Peace is another work that was probably used as a text by his students. It is a political document wherein Isocrates constantly cites historical instances to prove his points. For example, he points out that "those who lightly espouse war have already led us into many great disasters,"[60] and comments on the arrogance of power, with particular reference to the Spartans.[61]

Civic and personal virtue, politics and religion all could be studied through History. Thus for Isocrates History plays the role that is played elsewhere in Greek Educational Theory by Mathematics or Dialectic.[62] It was from History that the student was to get, not only inspiration, but also a finer appreciation of the nature of *logos*, for it remained, of course, the central subject of the school.

Interestingly enough, Isocrates also admitted some of the Academic subjects into his curriculum, namely Geometry, Astronomy and "eristic" or disputatious dialogues,[63] despite the fact that they were advocated by Plato. The reasons for this appear to be two. First, is the fact that they had become popular subjects and as there was no great animosity between Plato and himself there was no reason to exclude them. Second, and more important, he accepted their educative value. He speaks of "the subtlety

and exactness of astronomy and geometry," which force us "to apply our minds to difficult problems . . . and not let our wits go woolgathering."[64] By studying them, students,

> . . . are not a whit advanced in their ability to speak and deliberate on affairs, but they have increased their aptitude for mastering greater and more serious matters.[65]

A curriculum, of course, offers no more than guidelines to an educational enterprise. The success or failure of such an enterprise is dependent to a great extent on the way in which the guidelines are followed. Isocrates was admirably flexible in his teaching methods, because, important as the curriculum might be, far more important were the particular needs of his students and the general aim of acquiring a mastery of *logos*, by whatever means were necessary and available.

A matter of critical importance in determining the nature of Isocrates' teaching method is the number of students he had at any one time, because as we are aware, the size of a class has significance both as regards the methods employed to teach the students and their efficacy. Without going into the reasoning it is fairly clear, not least because he tells us,[66] that he usually taught between 3 and 5 students at a time, although the number of students in attendance at the school in any one school year may have been greater than that.

Isocrates' method, therefore, was to work with small groups of young men and to teach them, at first, the way the *paidotribes*, the wrestling coaches, taught, which was to "instruct their followers in the postures which have been devised for bodily contests."[67] The postures, or holds, are akin to rhetorical devices. If we imagine the *paidotribes* in the *palaestra* as he first demonstrates a hold, then sets the boys in his charge to practicing, and finally moves about from pair to pair, correcting and encouraging the boys in their work, we have a vivid picture of the early stages of Isocratean education. This was also a method much like that used by the *grammatikos*, the teacher of letters, whose methods would be familiar to the students.

The next stage was to set the students to using what they had learnt, by means of exercises. This was meant "to habituate them to work and require them to combine in practice the particular things which they have learned."[68] This was also the time when they were coached in *kairos*, choosing the right moment, and in *to prepon*, determining the fitness of a particular device. The wrestling analogy may be helpful again. There is, it seems, a best hold to be used at any given point in a match. When and how to use a particular hold is a matter of practice and hard work and that is what Isocrates required of his students. They were given the opportunity to write and revise their discourses and also to begin to deliver them.

This led, gradually, to the third stage of learning, which required each student to test himself and his work in mock speech making in front of his

fellow students. The third stage was intended to display the strengths and ferret out the weaknesses of each student as he exposed himself to group criticism. Interestingly enough, Isocrates submitted his own writings to criticism in just this fashion and did not merely offer his discourses as models to be emulated. There is a long passage in the *Panathenaicus*[69] which is a detailed account of the self and group criticism processes at work. It shows how opinions were asked and given and defended in a manner reminiscent of the working of the dialectic, although in this case the search was for the best means of expressing certain ideas and not for an ultimate truth. It is worth noting that the comments from others were often incorporated in the discourse under discussion, although the final responsibility for praise or blame belonged to the writer, in this case Isocrates himself.

Having successfully completed the three stages, the students were then ready to go into the larger world and practice their skills. However, Isocrates makes it clear that he was available to former students who wanted to try out ideas and completed discourses on him and that students availed themselves of this service.[70]

An examination of his teaching method reveals that it is replete with 'modern' techniques. These include small class size, close relations between teacher and student, knowledge of pupil characteristics and individual differences, both intellectual and psychological, an emphasis on individualized learning and individually prescribed instruction, instructional sequences of varying length, acknowledgement of the existence of individual learning rates and, most of all, a stress on the importance of language to learning. In addition, Isocrates employed the tutorial group, the seminar, the *viva voce* and the preparation and presentation of essays. While it is not possible to attribute the invention of all these to Isocrates, what we can say is that he was the first to put them together as a coherent whole, a whole, moreover, which provides an exemplary teaching methodology.

It is worth making one final point about his teaching method. Nowhere does he indicate or imply that the lecture was part of his repertoire. He appears to have left that particular innovation to Aristotle.

Those who have a mind to, myself among them, can trace Isocrates' influence through a host of important thinkers on education. Besides Cicero and Quintilian, we can add John of Salisbury, Thomas Aquinas, Sir Thomas Elyot, Baldessore Castiglione, Giovanni Pontano, Matteo Palmieri, Niccolo Machiavelli, Guillame Bude and Desiderius Erasmus.[71] The links with some of these men are less strong than with others, but also there are others, unmentioned, who followed in the footsteps of the Father of Humanism.

In the last analysis, his most lasting influence has been the major idea that undergirds all his work and thought and which is his main contribu-

tion to Western Educational Thought. It is encapsulated in his belief that "none of the things which are done with intelligence are done without the aid of *logos*."[72]

Notes

[1] *Antid.*, 178.

[2] S.E. Frost, Jr. and Kenneth P. Bailey. *Historical and Philosophical Foundations of Western Education*. Columbus, Ohio, 1973.

Harry G. Good and James D. Teller. *A History of Western Education*. New York, 1969.

Adolph E. Meyer. *Grandmasters of Educational Thought*. Toronto, 1975.

Ralph L. Pounds. *The Development of Education in Western Culture*. New York, 1968.

[3] London, 1956.

[4] Marrou, p. 136.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

[6] H.M. Hubbell. *The Influence of Isocrates on Cicero, Dionysius and Aristides*. New Haven, 1914.

[7] Marrou, p. 132.

[8] R.C. Jebb. *The Attic Orators*. New York, 1962. II, pp. 2-3.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 3. To be *Choregus* was to have the doubtful privilege of buying a warship for the state.

[10] George Norlin. "General Introduction," *Isocrates*. London, 1966. p. xii.

[11] A. Douglas-Thomson. *Euripides and the Attic Orators*. London, 1898.

[12] *Antid.*, 161-162.

[13] *Ibid.*, 36 and 40.

[14] La Rue Van Hook. "Introduction to the Team of Horses," *Isocrates*. London, 1961. III, 174.

[15] Werner Jaegar. *Paideia: the Ideals of Greek Culture*. Trans. Gilbert Highet. Oxford, 1945. p. 55.

[16] *Antid.*, 193.

[17] *Isocrate: Discours*. Paris, 1963. p. xxxi.

[18] *To Phil.*, 2.

[19] *Ibid.*, 81-82, *Panath.*, 10.

[20] The main source of information about his pupils is Friedrich Blass. *Die Attische Beredsamkeit*. Leipzig, 1874.

[21] A point often ignored by his hagiographers.

[22] A. Douglas-Thomson. p. 3. n. i.

[23] *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*. Oxford, 1966. p. 296.

[24] Aristotle. *Rhetoric*. 1402a 17.

[25] Marrou. p. 80.

[26] Although the idea was not entirely Aristotle's either.

[27] Douglas-Thomson. p. 46.

[28] *Peace*, 119.

[29] *Nic*., 29-30.

[30] *Ibid*., 43.

[31] Jaegar. p. 87.

[32] Marrou. p. 90. See *Nic*., 7. *Antid*., 255.

[33] Marrou. p. 90.

[34] *Antid*., 278.

[35] 48-50.

[36] 5-9.

[37] 253-257. cf. Plato's Hymn to Dialectic in the *Republic*, VII.

[38] *Antid*., 274-275.

[39] *Nic*., 2.

[40] *Antid*., 15.

[41] *Nic*., 5. *Antid*., 253.

[42] *Nic*., 6. *Antid*., 254.

[43] *Paneg*., 50.

[44] *Nic*., 7. *Antid*., 222.

[45] Plato. *Republic*. 514a-518d.

[46] Jaeger. pp. 64 and 149.

[47] *Antid*., 271.

[48] Marrou. p. 90.

[49] Jebb. II, p. 431.

[50] *Ibid*.

[51] *Soph*., 12.

[52] August Burk. *Die Padagogik des Isokrates*. Wurzburg, 1923. pp. 118-119.

[53] Marrou. pp. 82-83.

[54] *To Dem.*, 8. *Panath.*, 130. *Panath.*, 196. *Areop.*, 16.

[55] *To Nic.*, 35.

[56] *Paneg.*, 9-10.

[57] *Antid.*, 286-287.

[58] *Areop.*, 47-50.

[59] Norlin. *Isocrates*. II, p. 102.

[60] *Peace*, 12.

[61] *Peace*, 102.

[62] Jaeger, p. 101. *To Nic.*, 35.

[63] *Antid.*, 265-268. *Panath.*, 26.

[64] *Antid.*, 265-266.

[65] *Antid.*, 266-267.

[66] *Panath.*, 208.

[67] *Antid.*, 187.

[68] *Antid.*, 184.

[69] *Panath.*, 200-266.

[70] An idea we could well adopt ourselves.

[71] All of these men are writers who based at least one work on Isocrates Cyprian Orations. i.e. the works written to or for Nicocles. *To Demonicus*, *To Nicocles*, *Nicocles*, and the *Evagoras*.

[72] *Antid.*, 257.

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List of Abbreviations

Works of Isocrates referred to in this paper. Orations.

To Demonicus ..... *To Dem.*

To Nicocles ..... *To Nic.*

Nicocles ..... *Nic.*

Panegyricus ..... *Paneg.*

To Philip ..... *To Phil.*

Areopagiticus ..... *Areop.*

On the Peace ..... *Peace.*

Panathenaicus ..... *Panath.*

Against the Sophists ..... *Soph.*

Antidosis ..... *Antid.*

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Educational Journalism at Its Most Provocative: The American Herbartians and Their Influence on The Direction of Twentieth Century Teacher Education

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INTRODUCTION

There is, perhaps, no more interesting and provocative period in the history of American educational journalism than the twenty-five years or so surrounding the turn of the twentieth century — a time when the educational "profession" was first being recognized in the best sense of the word. During this general period, a group of young American teachers, after having studied in Germany, attempted with some success to restructure the thinking of American educators and the practices of American schools. They represented the American branch of the broader and older Herbartian movement which centered in various German universities and followed the writings of Johan Friederich Herbart. None are more generally acknowledged by various authorities on the period as having played greater roles in shaping the American branch of the movement than are the three men who serve as the focus of this paper: Charles DeGarmo and the two brothers, Charles and Frank McMurry.[1] Much has been written in recent years regarding the Herbartian philosophical and curricular significance of this group.[2] Only sporadic notice, however, has been taken of the more practical roles played by these men via the educational journals of the day in shaping the teacher training practices of American higher education — an aspect developed only to an embryonic stage at the turn of the century but later a truly integral part of the modern university.

CHARLES DeGARMO

As a prominent educational politician and leader during the 1890's and early twentieth century, Charles DeGarmo was an active advocate of reform in this area.[3] A significant number of his addresses and writings in the educational journals during this time specifically concerned the problem of normal school and collegiate teacher education, and more generally, the improvement of higher education. He was one of the first to push for standardization of teacher education programs in these institutions, a major step toward the eventual combination of these diverse entities into the modern twentieth century colleges and universities. He also called for the formulation of teacher education programs for the emerging second-

ary teaching profession, corresponding to those established earlier for the common school teacher. In keeping with the Herbartian purpose of providing a psychological basis for education, DeGarmo desired competent teachers for American classrooms.[4] This end could be achieved by first attacking the narrow vocationally-oriented and often anti-intellectual teacher education programs in the normal schools where emphasis on the "how," or methodology, usually far outweighed the "what" and "why," or subject matter preparation and educational philosophy. Secondly, it meant an attack on the colleges and universities where little or no professional educational training was required for aspiring teachers.

One of the first professional addresses presented by DeGarmo upon his return from Germany was a set of proposals for American normal schools based on German models. In this address DeGarmo concerned himself with the problem of whether the normal school curriculum should include academic work, as opposed to teaching purely professional courses. In his advocacy of more and better suited academic work in the normal schools, DeGarmo concluded that "no amount of theory about teaching the various branches can equal a thorough review and study of them." The average American normal school, said DeGarmo, has such poor academic standards that it is merely a high school with a training attachment. He then called for a more pedagogical treatment of the academic branches.[5]

In 1892, DeGarmo presented another address, this time pointing out some of the things which he observed to be lacking in the normal school program. Finding itself looked down upon by the universities, it had a tendency to escape into its own individuality, proclaiming itself a unique institution. The result, said DeGarmo, was that it tended to fill the young normal school graduate "so full of conceit that it sometimes takes years of practical failure to convince him of his folly." This could be remedied by placing university educated faculty in the normal schools since their "refinement of mind" and their broad, rich scholarship "will work like leaven."[6]

In talking of the need for intellectual educational qualities in the normal schools, DeGarmo used the following personal example of a normal school with which he had been associated.

> The most fortunate thing that ever happened to the Illinois State Normal school . . . was to have George P. Brown establish a philosophy club in the neighboring city of Bloomington. . . . It brought into that school an element of thinking and culture that had always been lacking. It roused the whole faculty out of . . . dogmatic slumber. Its effect was immediate and permanent on the whole body of teachers and students. The instruction became deeper and more earnest; the school was relieved of the tyranny of the non-essential; fads and tricks of method received less attention; and most of all, the graduates began to push for higher instruction in

colleges and universities.[7]

DeGarmo was truly concerned with the lack of a proper intellectual training for the normal school graduate as well as the overabundance of the "non-essential" and mechanical elements in the normal school.

> Sad, indeed, it is for the normal school whose faculty is composed of persons who have never felt the quickening power that comes from contact with great minds . . . who have given their lives to the more mechanical phases of their calling. As well may we attempt to build a fire from icycles (sic) as to expect such people to open up to their pupils the avenues to the higher education. . . . Let us, then, gentlemen and ladies, go to work at our end of the line. So far as in us lies, let us rise in our own instruction above the petty, the mechanical, the non-essential; let us strive for the fundamental, the life-giving, that which will grow and produce fruit hereafter. . . .[8]

If Charles DeGarmo's criticism of the educational quality of the American normal school was strong, his opinion of the professional education provisions in colleges and universities was severe. In an address in 1892, DeGarmo criticized the elementary nature of the university pedagogy courses while proposing better collegiate teacher training in general. This was to be accomplished first by the development of more extensive departments of education; secondly, by a more elaborate pedagogical curriculum at both the undergraduate and graduate levels; and thirdly, by the certification of college and university graduates as teachers upon the completion of a prescribed set of educational requirements. This final proposal was conditioned by DeGarmo's idea that it was necessary for secondary teachers to be certificated by the same procedure as elementary teachers who were graduates of normal schools.[9]

DeGarmo charged that "many prominent school men . . . sit in the seat of the scornful as soon as the study of pedagogy is mentioned." But their idea of pedagogy was the kind of elementary educational discussion found in textbooks which were inappropriate for university work. College students, for example, commonly were exposed to the rote learning of educational history. The result of this kind of simplistic teaching was the virtual denial of any genuine fundamental study of educational problems for the prospective teacher. However, educational problems were not so simple as to "be solved by a little pedagogical mental arithmetic," but involved both a wide knowledge and serious research.[10] This condition of weakness in collegiate professional education could be remedied by making the pedagogy department effective through an organic connection with the university as a whole.

> The most serious defect . . . of our present arrangement of pedagogical work in universities is that it bears no organic relation to allied subjects. It is in the main mechanically

> united, but organically separated. Like the nest in the tree, it is perhaps snugly ensconced, but it is no part of the living tree. These chairs . . . have been isolated rather than organic units in the university life. A few courses have been arranged quite independent of other departments, a single man has been appointed to give them . . . a single professor does not suffice to make the educational department what it should be.[11]

DeGarmo also declared that the "chairs of pedagogy are fatally defective in that they are only component parts of university life." The professor of pedagogy was "neatly glued on to the university" with no group of men with whom one could organize an education department. DeGarmo then called for the organization of education faculties or departments in the university to replace the single chair of pedagogy. These departments ideally would be a "nucleus of men whose work is thoroughly organized and directed to one end." He then boldly advocated that eventually as many as five or six men would be needed to conduct an education department of a major university.[12]

An ideal curriculum for students in this department was also outlined by DeGarmo which would include "general and special psychology . . . all strictly pedagogical subjects . . . and complete accounts of foreign contemporanious educational systems." Moreover, graduates of state normal schools were to be admitted in order to qualify as academic specialists along with the university graduates seeking to augment their largely subject-matter oriented education.[13]

> The work should be so arranged that a graduate student could choose any department of study . . . and at the same time do such work in general and special pedagogy as will best fit him to become a specialist as a teacher in these subjects. . . . Not only should the regular undergraduates of the university be admitted to the courses in pedagogy, but graduates of state normal schools also. . . . It is time for the universities to pull down the barrier that separates those who wish higher training in pedagogy from the only place where such training can be effectively given.[14]

DeGarmo also advocated that the work of this ideal education department should consist of two courses covering two years of college work. The first course sequence taught during the third and fourth year would precede a year of graduate study. The quality of these courses should be "appropriately high since the undergraduate work, instead of duplicating that of even our best normal schools, will be a distinct advance upon it."[15]

As an advocate of educational reform in both the normal schools and in the college-university world, it was inevitable for DeGarmo that the logical conclusion of these activities would result in his advocacy of a

combined role for the two. It was his intention to literally pull down the barrier that existed between these two divisions of education. The ultimate end was a wider conception of the function and scope of higher education and a unified democratic public education for all children from kindergarten through college.

The education of the normal school graduate was lacking in two essentials, according to DeGarmo. The first was a broad outlook over the whole field of education, and the second was "a specialized knowledge along a few lines." He called, therefore, for two changes in American educational institutions of higher learning. In order to achieve a desired coordination of normal schools and universities, he first proposed that the pedagogical work of the universities must be radically changed, and secondly, that the normal school graduates should be admitted to the university graduate schools upon completion of the normal school course of study.[16] He also called attention to the present incapacity "on the part of universities to give an opportunity for advanced training in educational science to those who need it the most." This was a mistake, he said, since "we are trying all along the line to unify our educational system, to build an unbroken educational ladder from the primary school to the university." This could be most easily achieved by first coordinating the training of teachers between the normal schools and the universities. "If we do not want our educational system loaded . . . with . . . incompetent leaders, we must make it possible . . . for normal school graduates to find a place" where their abilities can be fully realized.[17]

The Herbartian spirit of social and democratic purpose for education is clearly present in DeGarmo's writings. He charged that Americans have allowed bars to be built up between the minds that want to learn and the sources from which they can learn. It was the idea that learning was too precious to put before the common people, resulting in a kind of monastic spirit in education. The upshot was that in many universities "we have built up a wall between those people who would study and the place where they could study."[18] Concluding, DeGarmo remarked that "you can see the world from any hill you happen to climb. There are many hills in the university. I say, give the boys and girls a chance to climb them. . . . It will bridge the chasm which exists . . . between the university and the normal school."[19]

Charles DeGarmo's desire to close the gap between the collegiate world and the normal school centered on the development of similar teacher education programs in each. However, before this could be achieved, DeGarmo realized that changes had to take place in the secondary schools as well as in the post-secondary schools. In relation to this, he addressed himself specifically to the establishment of teacher training programs for the prospective secondary teacher. At the time, terms related to teacher training usually meant elementary teachers only. Most secondary teachers were either educated in liberal arts-oriented colleges

or universities with little or no professional training or were former elementary teachers who had been trained in the teaching of elementary subject matter with corresponding elementary methods. The idea of secondary student teaching was, therefore, virtually unknown at the time of DeGarmo's writing. This, then, stands out certainly as one of DeGarmo's truly significant contributions to educational practice. Thus, DeGarmo observed that practically all institutions for the training of teachers in America were adjusted to elementary standards.

> We are just beginning to realize that the professional training of secondary teachers differs from that of primary teachers. . . . There is, therefore, a need for a kind of professional study that is but slightly felt in elementary circles. . . . I submit that it is a proper thing for the secondary teacher to be properly instructed . . . for . . . where there are world wide differences in content of the studies, there must be significant differences in the educational results which the various studies should bring about in mental training. To make the old assumption that training is training . . . is to adher (sic) to a superstition as incredible as that which ascribes green cheese to lunar composition.[20]

He concluded, however, that the use of practice schools attached to universities or normal schools for the purpose of training secondary teachers "tho having some advantages both for the individual and the community, would be but meagerly supported." The secondary teacher would, at that time, have to be satisfied "with good professional instruction in educational history and principles . . . psychology and social sciences" and with such practical instruction "as may be gleaned from high-school visitation or gained by occasional cadetship in public high-schools."[21] We observe here one of the first suggestions for the establishment of a program for secondary student teaching — an idea virtually nonexistent at the turn of the century. About the prospects of establishing a secondary program, he almost wistfully envisioned a common feature of modern education:

> . . . we have no means for carrying out any general system of cadet teaching. . . . It remains to be seen whether we could not by some system of benefits to individual and community, induce high schools to undertake this much needed work. Candidates would serve for little or no salary . . . while school boards would consent to this arrangement if it were evident that . . . the schools and the community would thereby be educationally benefitted.[22]

It should also be noted that in realizing most secondary teachers would graduate from the colleges and universities, DeGarmo, as a member of the National Education Association's Committee on Certification of College and University Graduates, was instrumental in drafting a set of recommendations to achieve this end.[23] This was but another step toward the standardization of elementary and secondary teacher education pro-

grams in normal schools, colleges, and universities. It was yet another effort on DeGarmo's part to achieve truly standardized training for all American teachers. DeGarmo was concerned about the practices of those who prepared America's teachers for the classroom. He condemned the normal schools for teaching too much form and too little substance. He charged that the colleges and universities were oriented toward the opposite extreme with almost a total emphasis on academic preparation. He thus called for standardization of teacher education programs in both areas of higher education. DeGarmo also wrote in advocacy of better teacher preparation for the emerging secondary schools, thereby helping to give birth to a new set of training practices. His writings are indicative of one concerned with the educational problems of his day, one who took an active role in their solution.

FRANK McMURRY

The contribution, by way of professional journal addresses and writings of both Charles and Frank McMurry concerning teacher education in the normal schools, colleges, and universities, was far less extensive than that presented by Charles DeGarmo. The primary interests of the McMurrys were to be found in the advocacy of teaching reform in the classroom. As such, the two major books written by them at this level became standard texts used by the normal schools and education departments of the universities.[24] In this sense, then, their influence on teacher education was tremendous. From the standpoint of writing and speaking specifically about the normal schools and teacher education reform, however, we find only two such addresses by Frank McMurry during the period in question,[25] and only one brief address by Charles McMurry.[26] With Charles DeGarmo, we find a man who wrote as an educational leader, prominent in the education associations. As such, the amount of material specifically written by DeGarmo on normal school and teacher education reform is comparatively large. At the other extreme is Charles McMurry, spending most of his professional life turning out voluminous type studies, curriculum projects, and special methods units specifically adapted to direct application by the classroom teacher for daily teaching use. With Frank McMurry, we find evidence of both of these elements; thus, he can plausably be labeled as a blend of the two extremes. Although more closely resembling the publishing habits of his brother Charles than those of DeGarmo, Frank McMurry was responsible for one notable address which, more than any other provided by the other two, became somewhat of a controversy within professional education circles at the time.[27]

In an address entitled "Value of Herbartian Pedagogy for Normal Schools" delivered in 1892 before the National Education Association, Frank McMurry outlined the major points of the Herbartian doctrine as they would hopefully relate to the normal schools training of teachers. Stating first that it should be the primary duty of a normal school to instill

in its students a love for teaching, he observed that this was in reality a rare exception to find. "This spirit of devotion is not characteristic of teachers. A very small portion of them love the theory of teaching or its practice." He then asked why it was that students commonly loved other subjects while finding the study of pedagogy unattractive. He suggested that the reason could be found largely in the fact that the ideas in the other fields were much more thoroughly organized than they were in pedagogy. "Any subject which contains only a collection of single, isolated, independent facts is usually of little interest." He remarked further that even with the hundreds of books available on pedagogy, "they reveal no plan. Each contains many good things . . . but these truths are not bound firmly together."[28] He then called attention to the lack of unity which was apparent in most normal school faculties:

> . . . the thoughts of the individual professor ordinarily lack unity as much as the common textbook, and the views of the different members of the faculty are as much at variance . . . as the books they read. Such want of harmony . . . is exceedingly injurious in its effects. . . . Inharmonious opinions on important points of teaching tend actually to destroy professional zeal and produce shallowness. There is forced upon the students the conviction that there is comparatively little that is fixed or settled in pedagogical doctrine; pedagogy is no science at all; it is a chaotic mass of facts, very many of which are in dispute. That is the prevalent impression. . . . Many of our best teachers abandon the profession when they reach this point. They do not see enough science in teaching to satisfy their minds.[29]

The first need, therefore, was for a commonly accepted doctrine for teaching. It was not necessary to erase all differences of opinion. But harmony was essential on all vital questions. This doctrine must fix a definite purpose for the teacher and show clearly by what means and methods "that purpose can be called a science. The Herbartians alone have developed such a system in detail." Thus, the Herbartian doctrine required the teacher to follow a systematic plan.[30] The remainder of Frank McMurry's address was devoted to the presentation of brief sketches of the various Herbartian doctrines. In concluding the address, McMurry contended that the Herbartian pedagogy had an important value for the normal school.

> Since the Herbartian pedagogy fixes a definite end to be accomplished, and shows clearly the means by which it can be obtained, it will inculcate a stronger belief in teaching, a greater devotion to it, and a more progressive spirit. Both normal school teachers as well as students are in need of an influence that will have such an effect upon them.[31]

These ideas are quite prevalent throughout Frank McMurry's other writings. In an article on the doctrine of concentration, he declared again

that one reason why teachers were usually so "luke warm" toward their profession was that what they knew about teaching was disconnected. "While they know an abundance of facts, these are in a chaotic state. Relationships are the rarest meat of instruction."[32]

Apart from the application of Herbartian doctrines to normal schools, Frank McMurry, like Charles DeGarmo, spoke in favor of the standardization of teaching requirements between normal schools and the collegiate community. But as DeGarmo was oriented more toward the problems of the emerging secondary school, Frank McMurry was primarily concerned that the elementary schools could not draw teachers from the college and university ranks. "Both universities and normal schools should aim to prepare teachers for work in elementary schools." McMurry added that the university faculties usually cared very little about teacher preparation. He, like DeGarmo, presented several arguments in favor of departments of education in the universities. "One argument for a department of education . . . is that faculties may learn something of the art and science of teaching." He also urged that attendance in both normal schools and universities should be more even. "If the university trains only for superintendents and for secondary schools, it will neglect the greatest part of its field of work." He went on to advocate "ready acceptance of normal-school students in the universities," as well as graduate departments of education in universities to "advance knowledge of education in the elementary field."[33]

It should be noted finally that these sentiments in favor of more uniform standards for normal schools and university teacher education were not confined to one or two brief and scholarly journal articles but instead could be found permeating much of his other work. To use but one example, in his book entitled *How to Study*, a publication hardly aimed at the scholarly professional and also written comparatively late in his career, McMurry talks of the relative merits of a normal school as opposed to a liberal arts education. Moreover, he argues specifically in favor of the granting of degrees by normal schools, a development that was just beginning to take root in the 1920's. In the past, degrees had only been granted for academic programs showing "evidences of culture."[34] But normal schools provided the ability to exercise a practical art.

> Our better normal schools . . . give instruction in literature, history, geography, fine art, etc.; the same as the degree-conferring colleges. To these subjects the normal school adds the history of education and the principles of education. . . . There remain then the subjects that involve practice, such as special method courses, applied psychology, and practice/teaching. . . . The good four year normal school presumably requires as much thinking and other strenuous work as that of the college. But the presence of the last group of subjects signifies that this study is to culminate in the use of knowledge; and there's the rub. It is this latter fact that vitiates the course and precludes the cultural effect. . . .[35]

One of Charles McMurry's most distinct characteristics was a tendency to write for the practical as opposed to the theoretical educational public. He was a teacher's teacher in the truest sense. He distrusted, moreover, the scholarly world in which Charles DeGarmo was so much at home. He wrote that he saw considerable danger in an over emphasis of educational theory at the expense of more practical matters of the classroom. This would lead, he feared, to an educational theory which would be completely divorced from the realities of the public school teacher. As he pointedly noted in his *Conflicting Principles in Teaching and How to Avoid Them*, published in 1914:

> It is difficult to see how we can make much progress in reorganizing our course of study . . . until a large number of educational thinkers are willing to grapple with subject-matter in studies at close quarters. . . . The real problem lies lower down in the depths of the school studies, where mastery and organization of subject-matter are called for. . . . A close, practical union between educational principles and daily practice in classroom work is needed.[36]

As a result of this very pronounced bias, Charles McMurry's writings as an advocate for pedagogical reform in the normal schools and universities are extremely sparse. A single address in this area, "Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Pedagogy," presented originally to the National Education Association's annual meeting in 1893, is his only brief contribution made during the peak years of the Herbartian movement. Otherwise, there are occasional references to various topics within this general area appearing throughout his other remarks at professional association meetings as well as other writings. Because the material is so scattered, however, it should be noted that the resulting effect is one distinctly lacking in continuity and purpose.

In advocating the proposed new Doctor of Pedagogy degree, Charles McMurry observed that universities were slowly moving into the largely unexplored field of pedagogical training. "There is pressing need of pedagogical training for the many teachers who go out from our colleges and universities. They need it even more than the normal school graduate, moreover, because they are not conscious of this need." In presenting his arguments for the proposed doctorate, Charles McMurry contended there was convincing proof that strong thinkers were needed in the pedagogical field as well. He envisioned the role of the doctor of pedagogy as an implementation of the various Herbartian doctrines in America's schools. It is the business of the doctor of pedagogy, says McMurry, "to step into the relief . . . of the common schools, to select the most important subjects, and to coordinate them in harmony with the needs of children." This, then, is the broad field which is "the legitimate province of the pedagogue and unoccupied by anyone else."[37]

As mentioned above, there are points in Charles McMurry's other speeches and writings which also reflect his Herbartian thinking toward the role of teacher education. For example, in one remark contributed to the "Discussion" following another address at the 1894 NEA Annual Meeting, he contended that

> if we had in this country a first-class adequate school of pedagogy, where the very best results that the world has thus far obtained could be furnished to students, the halls of that school would be overcrowded with earnest and intelligent teachers . . . who are seeking for greater life and enthusiasm and for an avenue of higher development. . . . There is growing upon us in the universities . . . a body of persons who are eager for the best. Therefore, I think it behooves us to give them all the aid within our reach, and to put our shoulders to the wheel . . . to push on this noble work of influencing pedagogical chairs in our universities to strengthen their walls and to build up the best that they can give us.[28]

The student of educational history should pause here to consider the timeliness of this plea. In the fall of this same year, John Dewey had accepted the joint appointment to head both the Philosophy and the Pedagogy Departments at the fledgling University of Chicago.

It should also be noted that these sentiments are to be found cropping up repeatedly in Charles McMurry's various books for the practical educator. Though his books are certainly not the main area of concern in this paper, as with the case of Frank McMurry, it does illustrate the all-pervasiveness of the man's ideals. Thus, in his *Conflicting Principles in Teaching and How to Avoid Them*, Charles McMurry comments on the lack of balance between the academic and the professional sides of teacher education. The teacher, he says, is torn by pressure from two antagonistic schools of thought. On one side are the advocates of scholarship who believe that "anyone who possesses sound scholarship . . . may quickly become a good teacher." They dominate the higher schools and colleges who turn out "would-be teachers who have little or no special training in psychology, pedagogy, or the history of education, to say nothing of . . . training in teaching." On the other side are those who advocate a science of education, "a group of simple, fundamental principles which control the processes of teaching." This controversy, claimed McMurry, would not be so important if not for the fact that most teachers have a strong bias toward one side or the other. "In reality, good teaching involves both, and a full measure of each."[29]

To the very end of his life Charles McMurry was adamant about the need for better communication between the classroom teacher and the university professional. His own publishing life was a monument to this need, and his strong opinion and position clearly effected his attitude toward teacher education. Writing with a tone of profound bitterness,

venom, and disgust in 1926, within months of his death and at a time when the Herbartians had been unquestionably eclipsed by the bright lights of the progressive-pragmatists and others, McMurry vehemently condemned what he saw as the intellectual snobbery existing in the teacher education programs of the day. The following passage is purposely included in its entirety in order to provide the undiluted force of McMurry's frustration at the end of a career. It quite colorfully combines both the Herbartian attitude toward teacher training and McMurry's own strong bias in favor of increased communication between the university education department and America's classroom teachers.

> In the time of Horace Mann . . . there sprang up an enthusiastic propaganda for the improvement of the schools. . . . As a result . . . the first normal schools were founded. . . . In recent years another forward step has been taken by converting many of the normal schools into state teachers colleges. . . . These are great achievements and in the right direction. But what is the result? A disappointment — a disillusionment! We have in these institutions, in large part, a host of preachers of educational doctrine, formalists, theoretical and doctrinaire experts, who make no attempt to practice what they preach, who greatly scorn the idea of going into a classroom and dealing directly with a group of boys and girls. Theory with them is a thing apart, and a training school in the other end of the building might as well be on the other side of the continent.
>
> There was once a great Teacher who did not hesitate to gird himself and wash his disciples' feet. . . . This example of modest service at the foot of the educational ladder is what the school teachers most need. That example . . . is not the recognized function of our educational gentry. Pestalozzi taught children . . . Froebel lived and wrought with little children. . . . But our educational experts do not live and breathe on this level. They prefer to talk and theorize about what somebody else ought to do. They spin out theories. Their followers listen, enthuse, and then go out and spin the same wheel. They work out doctrines of teaching . . . and then fall down in adoration before the admirable product of their own thought. They are not teachers, but idol worshippers.
>
> It is not necessary that our whole educational procedure should run to seed in such a mere theoretical and formal output. Teaching . . . requires the best scientific theory put into direct practice. It is a matter of deep grubbing into actual experience, and not of superficial and lonely theorizing. . . . Teaching itself is a life process, not an utopian theory. Instead of widening the gap between theory and practice, we should insure that there is no gap. . . . The teacher-training institutions hold the key position in this entire cam-

paign. . . . They are under a profound obligation to do an honest job, from the foundation up. . . . The actual teaching of children is the very center and soul of the business.[40]

CONCLUSION

What then can we identify as the legacies of these diverse Herbartian leaders? The legacy of Charles DeGarmo is quite obvious — much of the current structure of teacher preparation programs was forecasted by this splendid educational innovator. The legacy of the McMurrys is certainly more subtle, however. Frank McMurry was adamant about establishing the respectability of the teaching profession, and much of this accomplishment is due to his efforts no less than to anyone else who worked in his circles at the time. Charles McMurry's legacy has a specially renewed significance today in line with the call for the profession as a whole to be more accountable and relevant. He supported the need for the augmented educational specialist or doctor of pedagogy, but he also wanted this kind of leader to be primarily a practical leader — of use to the everyday teacher. This tradition is certainly very much alive in the advanced graduate programs of many of our modern colleges and schools of education.

As the normal schools, colleges, and universities developed common educational practices during the early twentieth century, the writings of these men took on even broader significance. But later, as the Progressive Movement came into full fruition, many of the ideas first suggested by these Herbartian advocates were adapted, modified, and preserved in current educational theory and practice. As often occurs, the originator of an idea is forced into a subordinate role once a later leader moves his ideas toward more sophisticated and workable outcomes. Thus, the role of the Herbartians as pragmatic educational innovators who left important practical as well as theoretical contributions for American schools is often overlooked. Once the teachers colleges grew to prominence, developing into full-blown universities, the contributions of these normal school oriented American Herbartians, advocating improved teacher training, were quickly eclipsed.

Notes

[1] To give but two prominent references, see: Harold B. Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 246; and Edward A. Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), p. 99.

[2] The most prolific modern-day American authority on Herbartianism is unquestionably Harold B. Dunkel, author of numerous journal articles as well as two books on the Herbartians. Others also have recently looked at the American Herbartians, such as N. Ray Hiner with his article entitled "Herbartians, History, and Moral Education," published in *School Review* in 1971; and Mary Louise Seguel, who devoted the first chapter of her book, *The Cur-*

riculum Field (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1966), to the influence of the McMurrys and the American Herbartians on that emerging discipline.

[3] Charles DeGarmo was a frequent contributor to educational journals on the subject of teacher education beginning in 1883 and extending through the 1890's and early twentieth century. He was the first president of the National Herbart Society, and held several other leadership positions during the period in organizations such as the National Education Association.

[4] See Charles DeGarmo, "What Constitutes Professional Work in the State Normal Schools," *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1891, pp. 772-773. Here DeGarmo concludes that truly professional psychology gives a "genetic explanation of mental life" which produces the "introspective habit in the teacher, thus laying a foundation for what has been called the pedagogical consciousness."

[5] Charles DeGarmo, "The German System of Normal Schools," *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1887, p. 489.

[6] Charles DeGarmo, "Co-ordination of the Normal School and University in the Training of Teachers," *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1892, pp. 413-414. Hereafter referred to as "Co-ordination." For another detailed account of DeGarmo's stand on this subject, see the "Discussion" section of the same 1892 edition, pp. 785-787.

[7] DeGarmo, "Co-ordination," op. cit., p. 414.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Charles DeGarmo, "Scope and Character of Pedagogical Work in Universities," *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1892, pp. 772-779. Hereafter referred to as "Scope."

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid., pp. 774-776.

[12] DeGarmo, "Co-ordination," op. cit., pp. 412-413.

[13] DeGarmo, "Scope," op. cit., pp. 776-778.

[14] Ibid., p. 777.

[15] DeGarmo, "Co-ordination," op. cit., pp. 412-413.

[16] Ibid., pp. 411-412.

[17] Ibid., p. 413.

[18] Charles DeGarmo, "The University in Relation to the Teaching Profession," *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1894, pp. 554-559.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Charles DeGarmo, "Papers on the Professional Preparation of High School Teachers," *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1907, pp. 558-559.

[21] Ibid., pp. 562-563.

[22] Charles DeGarmo, "Professional Training of Teachers for the Secondary Schools of Germany," *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education*, 1907, p. 644.

[23] Charles DeGarmo, et al, "The Certification of College and University Graduates as Teachers in the Public Schools," *The School Review*, 1899, pp. 362-364.

[24] See Charles McMurry, *The Elements of General Method Based on the Principles of Herbart* (Bloomington, Ill.: Pantagraph Printing and Stationery Co., 1893); and Charles and Frank McMurry, *The Method of the Recitation* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1897).

[25] Frank McMurry, "Value of Herbartian Pedagogy for Normal Schools," *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1893, pp. 421-433; and "The Co-operation of Universities and Normal Schools in the Training of Elementary Teachers," *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1905, pp. 540-541.

[26] See Charles McMurry, "Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Pedagogy," *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1893, pp. 438-440.

[27] Frank McMurry, "Value of Herbartian Pedagogy for Normal Schools," op. cit.

[28] Ibid., pp. 422-423.

[29] Ibid., pp. 423-424.

[30] Ibid., pp. 424-425.

[31] Ibid., pp. 432-433.

[32] Frank McMurry, "Concentration," *Yearbook of the National Herbartian Society*, Vol. 1, 1895, p. 37.

[33] Frank McMurry, "The Co-operation of Universities and Normal Schools in the Training of Elementary Teachers," op. cit., pp. 540-541.

[34] Frank McMurry, *How to Study and Teaching How to Study* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909), p. 199.

[35] Ibid., pp. 200-202.

[36] Charles McMurry, *Conflicting Principles in Teaching and How to Avoid Them* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914), p. 250.

[37] Charles McMurry, "Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Pedagogy," op. cit., pp. 439-440.

[38] Charles McMurry, "Discussion," *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1894, p. 564.

[39] Charles McMurry, *Conflicting Principles in Teaching and How to Avoid Them*, op. cit., pp. 254-256.

[89] Charles McMurry, "The Drift Toward Formalism," *Peabody Journal of Education*, (July, 1926), pp. 16-19.

Samuel Lewis, Ohio's First Superintendent Of Common Schools

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In his contemporary analysis of the reform impulse in antebellum America, Ralph Waldo Emerson contended that "the doctrine of Reform had never such scope as at the present hour." Reform was in the air and its spectrum challenged the many facets of American life, including society's responsibility for the rights and welfare of the physically and mentally handicapped, workingmen and women, criminals and slaves. Feminism, utopianism, humanitarianism, and abolitionism were but a few of the "isms" which captivated the popular imagination of the period. "We are to revise the whole of our social structure," prophesied Emerson, "the State, the school, religion, marriage, trade, science, and explore their foundations in our own nature."[1] Many reformers believed that popular education was a crucial component in the reformation of society, and focused their attention upon the emerging common school as a basic institution for effecting necessary change. Thus, when Horace Greeley announced that "Social Reform" was the all-embracing reform of his age, Horace Mann responded that education was "the great equalizer of the conditions of men — the balance wheel of the social machinery."[2]

It was within this period of flux that Samuel Lewis left his native New England and arrived upon the Ohio scene to become an active participant in the ferment of reform. It was not too long before he earned a reputation, first as a leading advocate of educational reform and later, as an intransigent foe of Negro slavery. A self-made man, Lewis exhibited many of the characteristics associated with the reformist mentality: dissatisfaction with human imperfection, harsh criticism and unbending idealism, a compelling sense of stewardship for his fellow man and a naive optimism about the perfectability of human nature, narrowness of outlook and uncompromising inflexibility, humorless self-righteousness and the subjective need to embrace the "hair shirt and martyrdom."[3] A profoundly religious commitment, nurtured by the idea of reform, penetrated most of Lewis' thought and motivated his life-long efforts to "remake what man has made."

Samuel Lewis' ancestors were among the earliest pioneers who emigrated to seventeenth century Massachusetts, settling in Scituate and nearby Falmouth on Cape Cod. It was in Falmouth that Lewis was born on March 17, 1799, the third of nine children of Samuel and Abigail Tolman Lewis. Although Lewis' formal education was at best intermittent and probably never exceeded a total of nine months, it was

supplemented by an aunt who tutored him when he periodically visited his grandfather's home, and by the Reverend Orastus Otis, a local Methodist minister, who served as his instructor for a short period of time. At the age of eleven, his education was further broadened when he was allowed to join the crew of his father's coasting vessel. As cabin boy, he learned the fundamentals of sailing, shared in the rigors and compensations of calloused work, and came to admire his father's industry and moral fibre. Despite an alert mind and a natural curiosity, Lewis always remained painfully self-conscious in his later years of his abortive education. This constant brooding often influenced his relations with more educated persons and accentuated an inferiority complex which was to mark much of his later activity. "I feel the defect of early education and discipline so much that I often blush and mourn over myself," confessed Lewis in a fatherly admonition advising his children to take advantage of their educational opportunities, "and nothing but a sense of duty can keep me in a field where half my strength is lost for the want of these very advantages you now enjoy."[8]

Lewis was probably nine years old when he joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. This conversion surprised his parents because there was no family affiliation with this denomination and because it was generally held in low repute in Congregational Massachusetts. The ebullient approach of Methodism undoubtedly appealed to the strong strand of emotionalism in his own personality — an element made evident in his unabashed sentimentality toward women and children and in his impassioned speeches in behalf of reform causes. Perhaps his early respect for education may have attracted him to the Methodist minister who tutored him for a time. Whatever may have been the reason for this choice, Lewis' Methodism remained the fundamental influence in his personal life and determined the course of his professional life.

If Lewis' New England boyhood was marked by the love, security, and religiosity of his closely-knit family, his years of adolescence and early manhood were characterized by financial insecurity and economic hardship. American attempts to steer a neutral course during Napoleon's conflict with Great Britain caused serious financial reverses for New England shipping interests. In an attempt to salvage his business, the elder Lewis borrowed heavily but was never able to recoup his losses. With prosperity and property gone, the sea captain, like many others of his day, looked westward to make a new start. In 1813, the Lewis family completed a six-week journey to Ohio and settled on a small farm outside of Cincinnati. But the forty-two year old sea captain-turned-farmer never regained the material prosperity he had known before the War of 1812. Since the farm was too small to provide profitable labor for all the boys in the family, Lewis sought employment elsewhere during the next few years. He hired out as a farmer, carried the United States mail, engaged in surveyor work, and apprenticed himself to a master carpenter. Lewis

considered himself a good carpenter but was not satisfied to remain one. At the age of twenty, he obtained a position in the Common Pleas Court of Cincinnati in order to earn enough money to prepare himself for a career in law. For nearly three years, his frugal living habits made it possible for him to purchase the necessary law books. Lewis chose to "read" law with Jacob Burnet, a prominent jurist of Cincinnati, who proved to be both instructor and friend to the struggling student. In spite of his meager resources and deprived "of the advantages common to those who turn their attention to professional study," he was determined to become a lawyer. Lewis' deep-rooted feeling of inadequacy nevertheless reasserted itself and initially he declined to take the bar examination.[5] Only after Burnet reassured his protege that he was more than adequately prepared for the examination did Lewis feel confident enough to reapply for the test. Finally in April, 1822, Lewis passed his examination before the Supreme Court of Hamilton County (of which Cincinnati was the county seat) and was admitted to the bar.

From the start, his practice was successful both from the point of financial compensation and professional reputation. "My success has exceeded my most sanguine expectations," Lewis wrote to his grandfather a short month after hanging out his shingle, and added that he had "as much business as I can find time to attend to."[6] A dozen years of strenuous work and long hours earned financial security and a respectable standard of living for him and his family. But this was done at the expense of his already delicate health. The inability to refuse worthy cases, physical overexertion, and the need to prove his professional competency took such a toll "that he found himself before the age of thirty-five compelled to retire from the bar to recruit a shattered constitution."[7]

A year after his admission to the practice of law, Lewis married Charlotte Kerr Goforth who was the daughter of a pioneer physician of Cincinnati and long accustomed to living in an atmosphere of uncertainty, change, and reform. A devoted husband and father, Lewis seemed to be happy and relaxed only with his family. From his first years in the law, he spent a great part of many summers in his native New England trying to gain enough strength to combat chronic tuberculosis. In order to have greater quiet and thus effect a faster recovery, he usually travelled east alone or was accompanied occasionally by his wife or one or two of the children. While his physical condition generally improved during these rest periods, his homesickness always increased with the length of his stay. "Write often and tell me how the children are. Don't let them forget me before I return," he wrote after his first absence in 1825. Nine years later, from Falmouth, he asked Charlotte to remember him to the children "and take for yourself the deepest and most abiding affection of your absent homesick husband." Part of Lewis' homesickness lay in his inability to be at ease with friends and acquaintances. Though he had the humanitarian's love for all men, he found difficulty in confiding in any

but the immediate circle of his family. "I am surrounded by friends and acquaintances, all eager to anticipate my wants, and to furnish everything that can add to my quiet," he confessed to his wife, "but I cannot find [away] from home that comfort without which I am, to some degree, unhappy."[8]

Religious principles permeated Lewis' private and public life. He never wavered from the tenets of Methodism and was even licensed as a local preacher despite his protestations of "entire inability" to hold that position. A preacher without a pastorate, he often substituted for absent ministers and preached by personal invitation on special occasions. In his private correspondence and public discourses, he stressed religion as the most important factor in a man's life. Even as a young man of twenty-three, he was "convinced that my duty is in the hands of One who will do right. Under this impression I wish to do my duty and leave the rest with Him."[9] As a father of a growing family, he repeatedly counseled Charlotte to instruct their children in positive religious principles since "their happiness, and ours as well, under God, depends much on our efforts."

If Lewis' religious convictions gave form to his reformist tendencies, they also patterned his concept of amusement and his intolerance of "spiritous liquors." The theater was a "den of iniquity" and its patrons frequently blighted with moral and spiritual degeneration. In scores of letters to his sons, he set down guide lines for the legitimate use and appreciation of pleasure. Rather than engage in "ungentlemanly sports," he urged them to channel their recreation in "useful and honorable" outlets since there can be "the highest degree of mirth and gladness without sin." Bodily exercise sufficient to preserve health was not only morally acceptable but also physically indispensable.[10] Lewis' Methodism convinced him that intemperance was fundamentally a religious and social problem, for its tenets admonished against drunkenness, buying or selling "spiritous liquors," and drinking intoxicants except in case of extreme necessity. He found it difficult to understand why any practice so obviously harmful to men should be so willingly embraced by them. Manufacturers and retailers of "ardent spirits" thrived on this human weakness, and Lewis reserved his sharpest condemnation for the proprietors of saloons, taverns, and "the filthy grogshop:" "It is here that the confirmed drunkard goes without shame or remorse to quaff the poisonous draught and finish the work of moral and physical suicide." Nor did he exonerate the general public from responsibility for the continuance of this vice. Every community had the power to root out intemperance or at least minimize its influence upon the people. "Let me tell you [that] a drinking place in your neighborhood is an open pest-house of moral and physical leprosy," he moralized by means of Biblical allusion, "more alarming than the worst plague that ever visited the heaven-cursed land of Egypt."[11]

If religious and moral principles provided the philosophical rationale

for Lewis' reformist bent of mind, several external factors further sensitized his humanitarian impulse. Although a man of many acquaintances, he counted only a few like-minded persons as his close friends.

A colorful relationship existed between Lewis and William Holmes McGuffey. Both were interested in educational and temperance reform and both were deeply motivated by religion, the one a Methodist and the other a Presbyterian. In the summer of 1838, they travelled together throughout most of Ohio in the interest of free public schools. Harvey Minnick has captured their evangelistic zeal in this colorful if somewhat over-enthusiastic description: "These two men were equally aflame on universal education. When they arrived in a school community on Saturday, they presented their envisioned commonwealth of Ohio under an educated citizenry. Lewis would present the organization and economic aspects and McGuffey the moral, spiritual, and literary. On the following Sabbath they would preach in nearby Churches, Lewis in the Methodist, McGuffey in the Presbyterian."[12] When McGuffey departed from Cincinnati College to accept the presidency of Ohio University, he confided to Lewis that college fractionalism and "calumny and detraction" made a change of scene absolutely imperative. "In this I know you will agree with me," he wrote, and expressed his gratitude for Lewis' unswerving friendship "thro' evil and good report."[13] Lewis was also neighbor, friend, and legal counsel for William Woodward, a wealthy and respected citizen of Cincinnati, who exhibited great enthusiasm for education. Lewis' careful management and wise investment of the money Woodward left for education made possible in 1831 the erection and maintenance of one of the earliest high schools in the State of Ohio. Asked to administer the Woodward Fund for the establishment of a school for the poor, he "managed this trust so well and with such enthusiasm, that large additions were added to the capital." Instead of building a primary school as was orginally planned, Lewis convinced Woodward in 1830 that a high school was needed more in view of the fact that the Cincinnati common schools accommodated all those youngsters who applied for admission. As a result, Woodward High School was incorporated in 1831 and Lewis elected president of the Board of Trustees; a position he retained, except for one year, until his death a quarter of a century later.

Lewis' interest in education was by no means confined to Cincinnati. Either in late 1831 or early 1832, he became a member of the Western literary Institute and College of Teachers, one of the first regional organizations in the United States founded to unite and improve the teaching profession and to propagate the cause of education before the general public. Its meetings attracted the leading educators of the Mississippi Valley who were loud in their demands for effective teacher associations, creation of state departments of education, and free and universal common school education. "To those who love human improvement, and see the means of advancing it in a virtuous and generous education,"

the *Catholic Telegraph* wrote of this organization in 1835, "there is given the opportunity of proposing their own views and learning those of others."[14] Such altruistic principles easily explain Lewis' early affiliation with the College of Teachers as it was popularly called. Moreover, he saw in it an opportunity to add new dimensions to his own educational thought through discussions and conversations with other articulate and creative members. The organization's yearly *Transactions* indicate that Lewis' role was a minor one as long as he maintained a full-time law firm. But once he retired from practice in 1834, he became much more active in its affairs. The following year he reported a committee's findings on "The Best Method of Establishing and Forming Common Schools in the West." He characterized the schools as crowded, having little time for individual attention for pupils, and lacking in competent instructors. His recommendations mirrored his concern for adequate funds, better teachers, and energetic trustees. At the College of Teachers' seventh annual meeting in 1837, Lewis spoke on "The Expediency of Adopting Common School Education to the Entire Wants of the Community" which included not only primary schools but the establishment of township high schools as well.[15] Lewis' connection with the College of Teachers was one of mutual benefit. He needed an outlet for his developing ideas on educational reform and the organization served as his public platform. The College of Teachers, on the other hand, needed effective speakers to propagandize its educational ideas and influential citizens to lobby its cause before the State Legislature. Lewis was such a man. Perhaps this organization's most concrete achievement was to prod the Ohio Legislature to establish the office of State Superintendent of Common Schools in 1837 and select Samuel Lewis as the first person to hold that office.

Several interrelating factors at work in the 1830's were largely responsible for creating the office of Superintendent of Common Schools in Ohio. From the time the state first recognized the common school system in 1821, the Legislature had been frustrated in its efforts to gain meaningful information about the schools. County Auditors were authorized to report pertinent information about the schools to the State Auditor who then briefed the Legislature. But the data were so incomplete and unreliable that they were useless for practical purposes. So many petitions arrived at the state capital each year requesting improvements in the common schools that an increasing number of legislators concluded that something had to be done to remedy this situation. The College of Teachers in particular urged the establishment of a state department of education with its own chief officer as the most effective antidote for the problem. To underscore this need, the College of Teachers held several special meetings at the state capital during the early part of 1836. Many legislators were present to hear Calvin Stowe's report on the "Prussian System of Public Instruction" and Samuel Lewis' "Remarks on Com-

mon Schools." Behind the scene a coalition of professional educators and sympathetic policitians managed to get a bill before the House of Representatives which called for a State Superintendent of Common Schools. The measure received nearly equal bipartisan support and opposition from Whigs and Democrats, and only the tie-breaking affirmative vote of the Democratic Speaker enabled the bill to squeak through the lower house. A short time later, the Senate decisively passed the measure and it became state law in March, 1837. Senator Price of Hamilton County thereupon proposed Samuel Lewis as the most qualified person to fill the office, and both legislative bodies cast large majorities confirming his nomination.

When Lewis was offered the office, he predictably hesitated to accept the appointment. Once again, agonizing feelings about his inadequacies returned to torment him. Concern over his precarious health caused him further to ponder the physical requirements of the new position. Although he was gratified by the strong vote of confidence shown in his selection, he was keenly aware of the narrow margin by which the office had passed the Legislature. Furthermore, the duties of the office were described in such vague and general terms, devoid of any real implementing authority, that an unsure Lewis became even more apprehensive. Nevertheless, educators, politicians, and personal friends urged him to accept the position, appealing especially to his humanitarian instincts and sense of public service. If he undertook this responsibility, he made it clear that it would be "from higher motives than for salary" since the annual salary of five-hundred dollars "will not more than defray my expenses [away] from home."[16] Ohio now had its first State Superintendent of Common Schools.

Lewis' sense of commitment prevented him from obeying the conditions that he had set down for the job — a quality which was obvious to many other people. A Presbyterian weekly described him as a man "zealous in the cause of education" while the Methodist *Western Christian Advocate* got to the heart of the matter: "The man's soul is in his work. . . . He cannot be idle anywhere. He will traverse the state, labor day and night, and from his exertions we look for a splendid onward movement in the cause of popular education in the whole west."[17] The Methodist paper was quite right in these sentiments. During his three years as Superintendent of Common Schools, Lewis travelled throughout the state many times, visited hundreds of schools, gave countless speeches, sent scores of circulars to subordinates, collected statistics from local school officials, wrote three annual reports to the Legislature, published progress reports to the public, and edited a journal of education for a brief time. No wonder that one writer has eulogized him as "a crusader with all the determination and enthusiasm of Godfrey of Bouillin, and Pope Urban."[18]

But Lewis' whirlwind of activity was always related to his basic

educational convictions, and his writings evidence an understanding of the nature and purposes of education as well as an awareness of the questions and problems related to it. In common with many other contemporary educational thinkers, Lewis believed that common school education should be Christian and moral, republican and patriotic, humanitarian and socially-useful, intellectual and individually-useful. Because "America was a Christian nation," he advocated a sound Christian and moral education. Regardless of the great material strides being made in the country, the lack of a good moral education for the whole population would make "a richer prize for some bold, crafty, and successful tyrant, who must ultimately be hailed as a welcome deliverer from anarchy and confusion." Just like Horace Mann, he opposed the presence of sectarian creeds in the common schools and maintained that moral instruction could be taught "without touching for a moment the disputed ground of parties in religion or politics."[19] Just like Horace Mann, he remained oblivious to the inherent difficulties of nondenominational Christianity as a religious formula for public education.

In a republican country where all the people have the right and responsibility to participate in effective government, Lewis imposed upon the common schools the obligation to instruct children in their civic lessons and thus prepare them to become patriotic and functioning citizens of society. Hereditary monarchies took great care to educate their heirs for the throne. In America, however, all the children were future sovereigns, even those not yet familiar with the English language, and who had to be prepared for the republican throne of good government. In a Jeffersonian vein, he voiced his conviction that freedom and general intelligence were natural twins which, if parted, would die. "If there is one principle that is more than any other identified with democracy, republicanism, and liberty," he remarked on one occasion, "it is . . . universal education" without which "the very name of liberty will become the stalking horse on which demagogues, anarchists, and usurpers will ride into power and prostrate everything . . . valuable in society."[20] In this regard, Lewis was confident that popular education could resolve all ethnic differences and transform foreign immigrants into loyal Americans.

Since Lewis realized that teachers made the difference between good and bad education, he devoted considerable attention to analyzing the various dimensions of teaching and its improvement. In a report on teacher education prepared for the State Legislature, Lewis stated that teachers should be persons of irreproachable morality, thoroughly prepared in content and methodology, and be paid a wage commensurate with their responsibilities. Indeed, a poor teacher did more harm than good and should be dismissed as soon as possible. Once asked about the wisdom of employing a teacher who occasionally drank to excess or swore profanely, Lewis responded that he should be hired only "if you wish these branches to be part of the education of your children." In his

opinion, the criteria for a successful teacher included "natural ability," an understanding of the "science of the mind," the ability to teach with or without books, and concentration on "the principle rather than the words of the lesson." Teachers were expected to be thoroughly familiar with "reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, and United States' history; and should so understand these as to be able to teach them accurately."[21] Whether disposed by overly solicitous women in his own childhood or by insights into the female personality, Lewis concluded that women made better teachers than men in their psychological makeup and professional preparation. "She has a natural fondness for children and a patient forbearance for their follies, a knowledge of their tempers and motives to action, a gentleness and kindness in all her conduct toward them that secures their confidence and love more readily than the other sex."[22] Surprisingly, however, he never condemned the normal practice of paying women only half the wages of male teachers. The best he could do toward explaining this disparity was to point out that women generally could not be relied on to remain in teaching as long a time as men. But he did make it clear that insufficient pay was the principal deterent in attracting qualified personnel into the teaching profession. Persons of comparable ability could earn double the teacher's salary in almost any other profession or business. Although Lewis somewhat naively mused that teaching was a reward in itself and ought to be practiced regardless of salary, he reluctantly admitted that honor almost always depended upon profit. Certainly nothing but the love of teaching and a generous spirit kept the few good teachers in the classroom. As a result, schools were often forced to employ the unqualified, the unprepared, and the uncommitted. As teaching became more professionalized, Lewis predicted that qualifications would be raised and higher salaries would become the order of the day. In this regard, he had definite ideas about teacher training and the kind of institution best suited for that purpose. Teacher education included elements which were different from the traditional "English or Classical education;" otherwise, he "would scarcely advise the establishment of . . . [an] institution" devoted completely to the preparation of future teachers.[23]

If it was important for the common school to produce literate and Christian republicans, then it was essential that this education be free and available to all children regardless of social class, economic status, and sex. Lewis attacked the existence of social classes based on "external appearances" and wages which were insufficient to support a family and educate children. "We are often told that the poor should be glad to bind their children out," he rebuked, but "no argument has sounded to me so revolting, so unchristian, so contrary to the spirit of humanity and philanthropy." On the contrary, only the free education of all youngsters would remove the stain of pauper education from the halls of the common schools. Not only did Lewis favor a minimum degree of compulsory education but he also believed that excellent schools would assuredly

attract the children of the poor and rich alike. "For a school not good enough for the rich will never excite much interest with the poor." On one occasion, Lewis recalled a story of a woman who informed him that "she wanted her son to go to school with the children of genteel families, so that he might not get acquainted with the children of low people." His response to this criticism was pity for the boy and contempt for the sentiment.[24]

Common school education was to be extended equally to boys and girls of all classes. Lewis felt that men obtained sufficient contacts in business to become educated in the ways of the world. But not so with women who "are kept from almost all opportunities of advancing beyond the sphere of their early associations." "Surely," Lewis romanticized, "it cannot be just to depress the daughters of our land." Such an attitude was quite similar to the views of other educators. Indeed, both Mann and Barnard went so far as to say that if only one sex could be educated, it should be the female. Lewis was more cautious in his remarks. But he acknowledged that the nature of women demanded a curriculum somewhat adapted to their particular needs. Such an education was to elevate their views, refine their tastes, and cultivate the delicacy of sentiment and propriety of conduct which the good of the country and their own happiness required.[25]

If public interest and support was important on the local level, it was even more necessary on the state level. From his first days as Superintendent, Lewis reminded the state lawmakers that the Ohio Constitution "imposed upon the State the duty of *effectually* promoting education by legislative provision."[26] In fact, he considered his *First Annual Report* a basis for subsequent legislative action to improve and extend common school education in Ohio. Many of the recommendations that Lewis made in this *Report* were incorporated by the State Legislature into the Ohio School Law of 1838. It created a school fund of $200,000 for equal distribution throughout the state, provided for a general state levy of two mills for school support, made County Auditors the County Superintendents of schools, and turned Township Clerks into Township Superintendents of schools. School reports were required of teachers, Township and County Superintendents, and Boards of Education of incorporated towns and cities. Real power was now invested into the more clearly defined duties of the State Superintendent of Common Schools. The office was made permanent, elective every five years, and the salary increased to $1,200 a year. To facilitate the exercise of his duties, the Superintendent obtained the authority to make all necessary visitations and to "summon the interposition of the prosecuting attorneys of the countries." For at least one year, Lewis was empowered to publish an official journal, the *Ohio Common School Director*, for distribution to teachers, school officials, and the public at large.

The increased school tax and the additional responsibilities placed

upon school officials underscored the unfavorable reception accorded the new school law among different groups. In an attempt to counter this adverse public reaction, Lewis decided to use the *Ohio Common School Director* to explain the law, defend its provisions, and neutralize the opposition. Two of the six monthly issues published were devoted completely to explaining the new law and offering suggestions for its effective implementation throughout the state. Alarmed at the growing opposition to the school law, Lewis urged the Legislature not to abolish the law but to clarify in and perhaps issue a set of interpretive guidelines for school officials. "It could not be expected that a perfect law should have been passed at once and made so plain that thirty thousand different officers would be able . . . to give the same and correct construction." After a sufficient trial period, the law's shortcomings would be discovered and then quickly remedied. But he warned legislators not to be intimidated by the national impatience for signs of success. Since Americans were accustomed "to begin and end the most important enterprises in a short time," Lewis concluded, "there is danger of tiring in a work which costs years of labor, before its fruits can be fairly seen."[27]

In December, 1839, Samuel Lewis delivered his *Third Annual Report* to the Legislature. His opening remarks announced his official resignation from his office. On the surface an inexplicable bombshell, this action was expected since Lewis had tried unsuccessfully to step down ten months earlier. Several prominent members of the Legislature mounted criticism against the recent developments in Ohio education and urged the abolition of the office of State Superintendent of Common Schools and the abrogation of key provisions in the new school law. This opposition reached a crisis when the Legislature denied Lewis' request for a clerk to assist him because of his failing health. Such hostility made the performance of his duties more difficult with each passing month. Lest personal animosity to him hinder the cause of common school education, Lewis informed Governor Wilson Shannon, elected in 1838, of his intention to resign immediately from his office. Shannon persuaded Lewis to postpone his decision until a later date. Less than a week later, however, Lewis reverted to his initial decision and wished his resignation to take effect no later than the first of May since "the sooner the office is filled the better for the public interest." Shannon must have been a very persuasive person for once again he prevailed upon Lewis to defer his resignation until the end of the year. Lewis agreed to this condition and made it clear to the Governor that he would remain no longer under any circumstances.[28] As soon as he retired from office in February, 1840, a spirited battled raged in the Legislature between the supporters and opponents of the superintendency. Finally in March, almost three years to the day it was created, the office was abolished and Lewis' former duties transferred to the Secretary of State.

Several factors converged in 1840 to destroy the superintendency and thwart the initial efforts of Lewis. Public apathy, which Lewis attributed

in part to the state's "long-standing neglect of school legislation," created an environment favorable to the growth of an effective opposition. Ohio was still frontier territory and extremely independent. Local communities were expected to solve their own problems, including the education of the young. Communication media were primitive in many areas and the effective mplementation of general school legislation was often difficult to attain. Many people who owned property and had no children to educate resented being taxed for the education of all the state's youth. The two-mill school levy mandated in the law of 1838 was "high speed for the woodsmen unaccustomed and opposed to taxes."[29] Additional opponents included those "school officers who were unwilling to discharge the duties imposed upon them" and "incompetent school teachers." This popular hostility was early mirrored in the legislative opposition to Lewis' office and publicly noted in December, 1837 — even before the new Superintendent delivered his *First Annual Report*. "It is to be hoped," wrote a sympathetic Cincinnati reporter, "that the office will not be abolished by the legislature, though they may abolish the 'Board of Public Works.' "[30] This sentiment was confirmed a month later when Lewis' son wrote his father that he "heard that the Legislature were [sic] trying to do away with the office of Superintendent."[31] Although this opposition in the Legislature was too weak to prevent the passage of the school law of 1838, continued public indifference, professional obstructionism, and political opportunism combined to make this opposition victorious two years later. If the "friends of education" had been a stronger and more organized voice throughout the state, the superintendency could probably have been saved even if political expediency demanded the removal of Lewis as the sacrificial price.

Despite all of his activities and writings in behalf of education, Lewis never attained eminence as a successful educational propagandist. His poor physical stamina had something to do with this. The chronic ill-health that he had lived with since childhood returned to plague him as a result of his exacting labors. When the lawmakers refused his request for a clerk, Lewis felt compelled to resign his office. But there is more to the story than poor health. For once Lewis stepped down and his office eliminated, the same Legislature which refused to budget him a clerk voted funds for a clerk to aid the Secretary of State with his new educational responsibilities. Since the clerk's salary amounted to the relatively small sum of $400 a year, this legislative reversal must be viewed more as a symbolic act than as an economic measure and must be related to Lewis' reformist temperament. Reformers are often needed but seldom appreciated since their rigidity of attitude and intolerance of imperfection often alienate even the most disposed segments of society. The personality structure of many do-gooders at times vitiates the good they do. So it was with Samuel Lewis. In his campaign for free and universal common school education, he exposed abuses and pointed out weaknesses regardless of the consequences. His *Annual Reports* and

other educational writings and speeches criticized the inefficiency of existing law, condemned the ignorance of teachers, deplored the wretched condition of many school houses, scored the waste and dishonesty in the sale of school lands, and denounced the questionable use of school funds. And though Lewis focused upon the abuses and not the people associated with them, the one could not be separated from the other anymore than the sin from the sinner. Certainly his constant repetition of these charges throughout the state earned him powerful foes who had even more powerful legislative allies. A reformist impatience drove him with "the high spirit of a zealot, and the remorseless energy of a steam engine."[32] As a result, Lewis the reformer unwittingly acted as a catalytic agent for unifying the popular and legislative opposition which destroyed the office which symbolized the man and his cause. Such are often the bitter fruits of public service.

If Lewis exhibited a certain amount of disillusionment at this state of affairs, he never admitted defeat or gave up the cause. Reformers are, after all, made of sterner stuff than mere mortal men. "It is hardly necessary for me to say," he wrote in his letter of resignation to Shannon in January, 1840, "that my interest in the cause of education of the whole people is in no wise abated." Although his sound mind continued to function in a deteriorating, unsound body, Lewis remained a compulsive humanitarian who stood "pledged to do all that a private individual of limited influence can do to promote the cause of universal education."[33] But his days of influence in Ohio education were clearly numbered and he needed a new outlet for his reformist energies. But it had to meet Lewis' essential criterion of "doing good for the simple consideration of doing good . . . in the true spirit of Christian philanthropy."[34]

Footnotes

[1] Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Nature Addresses and Lectures* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Riverside Press, 1903), p. 228. The author wishes to express gratitude to Vincent P. Lannie for his recommendation many years ago to use passages from Emerson which add valuable insight into the period.

[2] Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York: J.B. Ford and Company, 1868), p. 508; Horace Mann, *Twelfth Annual Report*, Facsimile Edition (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1849), p. 59.

[3] The characteristics of the reformist mentality are analyzed in Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The American Reformer* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 67; John Blum, Bruce Catton, *et al.*, *The National Experience* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World Company, 1963), p. 246; and Clifford Griffin, *Their Brothers' Keepers* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1960), p. 45.

[4] William G.W. Lewis, *Biography of Samuel Lewis* (Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1857), p. 128. Written by Lewis' son, William, a few years after his father's death, this biography is an uncritical work and eulogistic in

tone. In fact, there is still no satisfactory biography of Samuel Lewis. Nevertheless, this volume remains invaluable for its inclusion of large extracts of the Lewis papers which are probably no longer extant. All attempts to locate these sources have met with no success. As a result, the extracts in the biography will be relied upon to a great extent. Henceforth, Lewis' biography will be referred to as William Lewis, *Biography*.

On the other hand, hitherto unpublished papers, henceforth designated as the *Lewis Family Papers*, have been discovered in the possession of Miss Martha J. Lewis of Montclair, New Jersey, great granddaughter of Samuel Lewis. This still unclassified collection includes correspondence between Lewis and his family as well as with his professional associates.

[5] William Lewis, *Biography*, p. 35.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[8] Samuel Lewis to Charlotte Lewis, Portland, Maine, June 11, 1825, *Lewis Family Papers;* Samuel Lewis to Charlotte Lewis, Falmouth, Massachusetts, *Ibid.;* Samuel Lewis to Charlotte Lewis, Plainfield, Connecticut, August 13, 1834, *Ibid.*

[9] William Lewis, *Biography*, p. 43.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 96.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 72, 76.

[12] Harvey C. Minnick, "Another Centenary," *Ohio Schools*, (April, 1937), 182.

[13] William H. McGuffey to Samuel Lewis, Athens, Ohio, July 20, 1839, *Lewis Family Papers*.

[14] *Catholic Telegraph*, September 11, 1835.

[15] *Transactions* of the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Meetings of the Western Literary Institute and College of Teachers, 1835-1838.

[16] Samuel Lewis to Joseph Vance, Cincinnati, April 14, 1937, *Correspondence* of the Governors of Ohio.

[17] *Cincinnati Journal and Western Luminary*, May 4, June 22, 1837; *Western Christian Advocate*, April 21, 1837. Cf. *American Annuals of Education*, VII (1837), 331, 522.

[18] George W. Rightmire, "Ohio in McGuffey's Time," Ohio *Archeological and Historical Publications*. L (1941), 125.

[19] *Ohio Common School Director*, June, 1838, p. 46; Samuel Lewis, "Remarks on Common Schools," Appendix to Calvin E. Stowe, *The Prussian System of Public Instruction* (Cincinnati: Truman and Smith, 1836), p. 106. Henceforth, this work will be referred to as Lewis, *Remarks*.

[20] Samuel Lewis, *Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools on State Institutions for Teachers and Others* (Columbus, Ohio: S. Medary, 1839),

p. 19. Henceforth, this document will be referred to as Lewis, *Institutions for Teachers*.

[21] Lewis, *Institutions for Teachers*, p. 12; *Ohio Common School Director*, July, 1838, p. 64, October, 1838, p. 70.

[22] *Ohio Common School Director*, October, 1838, p. 72.

[23] *Transactions of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Western Literary Institute and College of Teachers* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Executive Committee, 1836), p. 157; *Western Christian Advocate*, October 27, 1837; *Ohio Common School Director*, October, 1838, pp. 70, 72; Lewis, *Institutions for Teachers*, p. 17.

[24] Lewis, *Third Annual Report*, p. 9; Lewis, *First Annual Report*, p. 16; *Ohio Common School Director*, June, 1838, p. 44. To the "frequent objection" that "so many bad boys and girls go" to common schools, Lewis responded in the same issue that "very frequently those who make the complaint know, from sad experience, what it is to have bad children."

[25] Lewis, *Second Annual Report*, p. 8. Cf. Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (Patterson, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams and Company, 1959), p. 177.

[26] Lewis, *First Annual Report*, p. 5.

[27] Lewis, *Second Annual Report*, pp. 3, 28. The *Ohio Common School Director* was published six times in 1838, starting with June and ending with November.

[28] Samuel Lewis to Wilson Shannon, Cincinnati, March 26, 1839, *Correspondence* of the Governors of Ohio; Samuel Lewis to Wilson Shannon, Cincinnati, March 30, 1839, *Ibid.*; Samuel Lewis to Wilson Shannon, Columbus, January [?], 1840, *Ibid.*

[29] Minnick, *Op. Cit.*, p. 182.

[30] *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, December 14, 1837.

[31] Joseph Lewis to Samuel Lewis, Cincinnati, January 3, 1838, *Lewis Family Papers*.

[32] James J. Burns, *Educational History of Ohio* (Columbus, Ohio: Historical Publishing Company, 1905), p. 421. Cf. Charles Galbreath, *Samuel Lewis, Ohio's Militant Educator* (Columbus, Ohio: n.p., 1904), pp. 23-24, declares in the same vein: "Mr. Lewis should have made haste more slowly. In his effort to inaugurate an educational millenium, he precipitated a temporary return to primeval chaos."

[33] Samuel Lewis to Wilson Shannon, Columbus, January [?], 1840, *Correspondence* of the Governors of Ohio.

[34] *Ibid.*

Useful Education for the Poor: A Benthamite Perspective

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Jeremy Bentham was born in Red Lion Street, Hounsditch, on 15 February 1748. His father entertained the most ambitious plans for his first child who early showed considerable intellectual promise. Jeremiah Bentham strongly believed in the power of education as a means to attain money and power, both of which he coveted. In order to ensure these for his son he decided that his education should be both technical and social, the first to provide the means to this end, the second to provide the necessary social contacts. His own legal background predisposed him towards the law as a profession for his son and with this aim in view he began the education of his son, Jeremy, first at Westminister School and later at Oxford.

By the time he was twenty-four, Bentham had already developed many of the personal characteristics which were to distinguish his future lifestyle. He had few friends. His physical frailty cloaked a robust constitution and a passion for work. His open contempt for the law "as it is" (developed as a result of hearing Blackstone) excluded him from contact with his fellow lawyers and brought him into conflict with his father.

In the decade after 1772 Bentham occupied himself with a variety of concerns, one of which was the education of his brother Samuel. A major happening in this period was Bentham's recognition by Lord Shelbourne who had been impressed by Bentham's *Fragment on Government* as an attack on his enemy Blackstone, and who was on the lookout for able propagandists in his campaign against the government.

In many respects the year 1782 provides an excellent point at which to consider Bentham's early life. The analytical mind capable of probing the fundamental problems of society had already matured. He was also cognizant of the need to reform society and its laws, to transform them from what they were to what he considered they ought to be in accordance with a strictly defined and clearly enunciated principle. What is more, he was eager to begin that great task.

After 1778 Bentham continued to write and to travel, this time to visit his brother in Russia. He published the *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* and for the first time concerned himself specifically with the question of the poor.

After 1812 Bentham worked steadily on a number of different projects simultaneously: prisons, parliamentary reform, and the evils of the

Church of England and the King, in particular. In the succeeding twenty years Bentham completed a number of major works on these themes. The most significant of these are the *Book of Fallacies* (1821), *Panopticon New South Wales* (1812), *Ontology* (1813-21), Deontology (1814-31), and the *Constitutional Code* (1822-1830).

Jeremy Bentham died on 6 June, 1832, one day before the Reform Bill (which by his life's work he had done so much to bring about), passed through the House of Commons and became law. He had lived through a period of rapid change and the England of his old age was very different in many respects from that of his youth. Bentham had been in both the physical and intellectual sense at the very centre of much of this change. Intellectually, he was directly concerned with many of the issues which were giving birth to the fundamental changes. If he did not always raise such issues himself, he invariably reacted to them when others did. He was a life-long resident of the Borough of Westminster, the centre of the greater part of the radical political activity of those times and the home of the Parliament which attracted so much of his attention over the greater part of his nearly eighty-four years.

Viewed in retrospect, the biggest part of Bentham's long life was spent in tackling the major problems of his age-political instability, crime, pauperism, the fluctuations of the economic system, ignorance of health matters, and over-population. All of these were connected with the poor and their conduct. For Bentham, however, unlike his fellows, the poor constituted a problem which he had to attempt to solve. His humanitarianism would not allow him to slough off the problem. The only type of solution that was acceptable was one which conformed resolutely to the Principle of Utility.

The task of formulating acceptable solutions to the problems of the age was difficult enough. For Bentham it was even more so by the distressing and unfortunate moral weaknesses to which the poor seemed particularly prone. For despite his obvious sympathy for the poor he had no illusions whatever concerning their character. The ignorance and idleness of the poor rated highly on any list of failings: he wrote of them

> In the ordinary state of things among the Poor labouring classes, under the eye of the natural Parent, where there is one, the mind of the child passes wholly without culture. Idleness is his first lesson, and this lesson (reckoning from 4 years old the age of commencing ability) fills up the measure of 8 or 10 years![1]

Such idleness was the direct result of ignorance, and from idleness sprang all the other moral deficiencies which vitiated the life of the poor. This view of the poor was one shared by the majority of Bentham's contemporaries. What marked Jeremy Bentham off from them was his insistence that all vices were curable provided the correct treatment was adminis-

tered. He shared, in fact, Colquhoun's views, who in 1806, agreed that education, whilst never designed to "elevate them (the poor) above the rank they are destined to hold in society," would

> give their minds a right bias, a strong sense of religion and moral honesty; a horror of vice, and love of virtue, sobriety and industry; a disposition to be satisfied with their lot; and a proper sense of loyalty and subordination.[2]

In 1798 Thomas Malthus published his influential *Essay on the Principle of Population as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society*. This formulation of the notion that human hopes for happiness are destined to fail due to the fact that population will increase at a faster rate than will the means of production, focused attention on another feature of the moral weakness of the lower orders — their distressing tendency towards indiscriminate and irresponsible reproduction of their own numbers. The threat that the poor presented by virtue of their numbers is well expressed in Tennyson's poem "The Northern Farmer — New Style,"

> Tisn them 'as munny as breaks in to 'ouses an steals, Them as 'as coats to their backs an toaks their regular meals, Noa, but its them as niver knaws wheer a meal's to be 'ad, Taake my word for it, Sammy, the poor in a loomp is bad.

The tendency towards loomps of an ever increasing size was infinitely regrettable. The existence of an already numerically large and constantly increasing and largely uneducated lower class thus brought home to the middle classes in particular the pressing nature of the problem that faced them; it was a problem that was fast developing into a real threat.

There are yet two other ways in which the poor constituted a problem and a threat; they were a danger to middle class property, and they demonstrated some appalling moral deficiencies.

The notion of property, the sacredness of ownership of it, is an essential element in middle class thought. Without property the middle class was nothing; the possession of it was what distinguished them from their social inferiors. It was what primarily signalled to others their collective ascent from poverty to affluence. The idea that anybody should take away their property by violent means and without their consent, filled them with real alarm. This regard for property was certainly shared by Bentham as the following excerpts indicate

> Property and the law are born and must die together. Before the laws, there was no property; take away the laws, all property ceases.

and

> The laws in creating property, have been benefactors to those who remain in their original poverty. They participate more or less in the pleasures, advantages, and resources of civil-

ized society; their industry and labour place them among the candidates for fortune; they enjoy the pleasures of acquisition; hope mingles with their labours.[3]

Certainly Bentham subscribed to the belief that secure government would wring the utmost beneficial changes in society and permit the secure ownership of property which was an undoubted good. The existence of a militant and numerous class of indigent persons constituted an obvious threat to both security and to property and Bentham was opposed to that.

This was what he feared would happen if something was not done to alleviate in a very effective manner the condition of the indigent. His views on this are explained in his work on Pauper Education.[4] What began as a treatise on Useful Studies provided the opportunity for an airing of his views on the necessity of acting within the law in respect to property, particularly if the proposed violent redistribution of it was undertaken for reasons of political equality.

A further reason why the increasing numbers of the poor and the indigent constituted a problem and a threat was their appalling moral deficiencies which, by their profusion and degree were all too apt to drag them even deeper into an abyss, one which would end only in their total depravity and in which they would ungratefully turn on their benefactors.

Prominent among the characteristics of the poor to which Benthan pointed an accusing finger was that of what now would be thought of as fraud. He quoted numerous examples of cases where illness or other affliction was feigned in order to obtain money from the authorities.

By far the most serious cause of such moral lapses was excessive drinking and Bentham condemned this soundly. Reports of fathers of families spending the weekly wage on drink, of whole families being afflicted in this way, and of wives and families being abandoned, abound in the notes which Bentham used in preparing his scheme for improved pauper management. Such excesses he believed were due to the tendency of the poor towards fecklessness, and to the outdoor method of relief that was employed.

The degrading effects of alcoholic drinks were particularly noticeable when combined with both idleness and a want of education. Among the opulent classes, education was useful in as far as it furnished them with pleasure-giving occupations untainted with future pain and inconvenience and by "affording accomplishments and introduction to good company."[5] Unfortunately, among the lower classes, largely devoid of such education (and thus of the means of finding innocent amusements) a man will

> . . . yield to the temptations afforded by amusements of a pernicious nature insofar as the means of doing so are within his reach. Among these drunkenness affords an occupation at

> the same time the most generally alluring and the most uniformly pernicious. With a full purse and an empty head nothing more difficult than for a man to avoid falling into the abyss of drunkenness. Hence the connection so intimate, so well known, so much and so justly lamented, between drunkenness and high wages . . .[6]

Thus for the middle class, the poor, particularly the indigent, constituted a threat to their own aspirations and a problem which they were obliged to confront. The poor were too numerous, their numbers were increasing too quickly, they cost too much to maintain, they were ignorant and without culture, they were a threat to security and property, and they were too prone to crime and drink. Bentham and his fellow philosophical radicals shared (though sometimes for different reasons) this concern.

It was the unique task of Bentham to question the correctness of policies being pursued in relation to the poor and the indigent and to measure such policies against both a clearly enunciated ethical principle and a demonstrated scientific and psychological theory.

The magnitude of the problems associated with the poor caused many of Bentham's contemporaries to despair at ever finding a solution to them. The increasing severity of the punishments inflicted on those convicted of transgressions against the law and the greater attention given to emigration are, perhaps, evidence of this. In Bentham's case the gravity and extent of the problem served, however, to spur him on to devising solutions. The key to these solutions was the subjection of people to the right type of education in suitable institutions.

It is apparent that Bentham employed a very wide concept of what constituted education. Indeed, he had earlier expressed the view that "the whole term of the individual is composed within the field of education."[7] Every moment of life he believed ought to be dedicated to one of seven objects; one of these was intellectual improvement, while work in various forms formed a substantial part of the others. Thus, there is in Bentham's scheme for the education of the poor, a definite connection between instruction and work. Work is the lot of the mass of mankind; certainly it was the lot of the poor who formed the majority of the people. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Plan for Improved Pauper Management connects education and work, and the profitable use of all time. For example:

> the business of education included the business of providing occupations of one kind or another, for filling up in some way or another the time of the individual to be educated. In saying *the time*, I mean the *whole* time, the portion allotted to sleep itself not excepted. . . .[8]

Hence the essentially educational purpose of the proposed scheme to set up Houses of Industry. From formal instruction, and moral and voca-

tional training, would come the means of profitably filling up all a person's time, of providing him with suitable employment, and of enabling him to perceive in which direction his best interests lay.

Productive labour for all people, but particularly for the indigent poor who were so much more in need of improvement, was the recipe for an improved society. It was particularly important to educate the children of the indigent. They were in fact to be the cornerstones of the success of the Houses. To educate them in the prescribed and systematic manner would be to "institute as part of the plan, a great system of national education — to substitute a garden culture to barrenness or weeds."[9]

Traditionally the education of the poor had been a casual and intermittent affair, carried on without direction and in a random manner, where it was undertaken at all. Now the "plastic power" of education was to be applied in a systematic manner under conditions which would guarantee its effectiveness. It would be effective not only because the House of Industry would exercise a total influence over its wards, but also because the concept of education was widened to include not only formal instruction but everything that an individual did. Thus would "the proper end of education (be) no other than the proper end of life-well being."[10]

The inability, or unwillingness, of the poor to school their children placed a heavy responsibility on others (later the State) to ensure that they were educated in the "right" way.[11] Bentham envisaged that this would involve four distinct and separate components; the moral, the intellectual, the practical and the physical. The first of these would include the teaching of good habits, honesty, industry, thrift, respect for property, and continence. The second was designed to improve the minds of the poor; hence there must be education of the intellect. This would arouse and develop their mental faculties and provide a permanent source of pleasure and power. The third was dictated by the consideration that as children of the poor they were destined to make their way in life by manual labour; it was, therefore, essential that they be taught some means of obtaining a livelihood. The fourth was the physical. Bentham was in advance of his contemporaries in perceiving the physical and intellectual benefits to be derived from well regulated exercise and he believed that the schools ought to provide this. By means of this education poor children would be raised to be useful citizens. Bentham had seen the genesis of such an education in his association with Robert Owen's venture at New Lanark, and it impressed him.

Schooling, however, would not only bring benefits to society; there were several important advantages of schooling for the individual. The first is of a general nature,[12] that learning, or intellectual instruction, secures general respect to its possessor. The second is that it provides the means of continued pleasure in leisure hours (a device, Bentham reminds us, of particular use to those in retirement). The third is that it provides

"Security against inordinate sensuality, and its mischievous consequences."[13] This was a recurring theme in his schemes for the education of the poor. The fourth is of a related nature; to provide a security against idleness and consequent mischievousness. The connection between the last two named is that a vacant mind is particularly susceptible to what Bentham termed "ennui."[14] Ennui projects a state of pain which those afflicted attempt to fill with pleasures of an undesirable nature (sensuality in adults and mischief of a sportive or malicious nature in children). The fifth is that it provides an entree for ". . . admission into, and agreeable intercourse with, good company."[15] By this Bentham meant company from which present or future security and profit might be obtained.

To these general advantages which "learning" in any shape provided could be added those associated with formal schooling itself. There are, in fact, no less than fifteen such advantages quoted.[16] They include the following: First, instruction will increase the number and extent of useful skills and knowledge at the disposal of the recipient. Second, it will increase the chances of happening upon those activities which are most suited to the powers and inclinations of the youthful mind being instructed. Systematized instruction was the key to Bentham's plan, as indeed system was to anything at all that he initiated. It is no surprise, therefore, that the third advantage to be derived was the general strength of mind resulting from a systematic course of instruction. The fourth is a related one. Bentham believed that the education would give ". . . to the youthful mind habits of order applicable to the most familiar, as well as to the highest, purposes: good order, the great source of internal tranquility and instrument of good management."[17] Bentham placed a great reliance on the power of instruction to safeguard the mind against a large number of delusions and terrors, and he naturally included this power amongst his catalogue of advantages.[18]

Finally, mention ought to be made of the matter of economy, since this was a consideration which ever commended itself to Bentham. It was a concern that he applied equally to both the poor and middle classes. The achievement of it depended on three factors.[19] The first was the use to be made of the Lancasterian method. The second was the extent of the scale of the operation. The third was the care taken ". . . to adapt the species of instruction to the state of the pupil's faculties in respect of maturity."[20]

Although Bentham had considered pedagogical problems in his Poor Law Scheme in the 1790's his major educational treatise, in which he laid down architectural, administrative and pedagogical principles, was not printed until 1815. The *Chrestomathia* is a treatise on the proposed education of the middle classes of society, the content of that education does not concern the scope of this study. However, the architectural and administrative principles were to be universally applied to the education of the poor both in the Houses of Industry and schools. Architecturally,

the central principle to be employed was that of universal inspection, as in the Panopticon prison. Indeed, on the title page of the panopticon scheme Bentham was explicit that the principle was equally capable of being applied to a wide variety of institutions including schools.

Unfortunately, Bentham did not work out in detail his plans for the education of the working poor in the same way that he did for the paupers. One is, therefore, obliged to conjecture his plans in this respect based on the outlines that are available.[21] In most respects the education of the two groups, the children of the indigent poor and the working poor, would be similar since the purposes for which they were being educated were the same. Hence, in terms of content there would be little difference, and in formulating the collateral uses of the Houses of Industry Bentham had made it clear that such services would also be available to the independent poor as well. Similarly, in respect of management principles, there would be considerable contiguity. For example, both would be subjected to the same mode of discipline.

The prohibition placed by Bentham on physical punishments was very much in accordance with his own sentiments. Bentham had been impressed in this field not only by the practice in operation at New Lanark but also by Lancaster's method and by the theorizing of Maria and Richard Lovell Edgeworth. In *The Rationale of Reward* he recommended that the Edgeworth's book *Practical Education* ought to be in the hands of every parent for the wisdom it contained. Lancaster he lauded for his judicious use of the principle of reward. Bentham was aware that in Lancaster's system (due to the large numbers of boys involved) it was necessary to use punishment of a more severe nature than that which consisted in mere deprivation of pleasure. He explained that

> Those (punishments) selected by Mr. Lancaster depend exclusively upon the dread of shame, and have been made uniformly emblematical or characteristic. Their efficacy far exceeds that of corporal punishment, which children are apt to make it a point of honour to brave, which they habituate themselves to suffer, or which inspires them with a decided aversion for study.[22]

Accordingly, Bentham recommended that in the training of young minds (in order to encourage them to attempt extraordinary heights of effort), "... the business is best managed, and indeed in a certain degree is commonly managed, by punishments and rewards together."[23] As time progressed, the punishment could be dropped altogether since the force of reward alone would be sufficient to achieve the desired results.

Some mention has already been made of the impression that the monitorial system of instruction had made on Bentham. He was impressed with it as a cheap, humane, effective and systematic method of instruction. It would have been surprising if he had not chosen to employ

it in the national schools he envisaged, particularly as government funds would be involved and he had earlier stipulated that where the education of the poor at public expense was involved costs ought to be kept to an absolute minimum.[24] The only major difference would be that the pauper children in the Houses would be under the control of the Company whilst the Government would be interested in the case of the independent poor since it alone had the necessary powers to override opposition to the scheme.

In summary, the schooling of the independent poor would aim, first, to teach them a useful trade so that they could maintain themselves in an independent state without recourse to public or private charity.[25] Second, it would teach them to use their leisure time profitably so that drinking and the other vicious habits they customarily indulged in would be avoided. Third, it would inculcate in them the right attitudes of humility, respect and subservience to their betters. Fourth, all of this would be done at the minimum of expense. It was not to be expected that it would be as effective as the education in the Houses of Industry since the children would still be subject to the vitiating effects of their home environments. It would achieve some progress, however, towards attaining the goals of increasing happiness without disturbing the natural social order.

The greater part of Bentham's writings on the place of formal schooling in the education of the children of the poor are contained in his scheme for Improved Pauper Management[26] in which Bentham proposed the setting up of a National Charity Company. One of its major responsibilities was to ensure that its "non-age" charges received an appropriate education. The degree of appropriateness was worked out according to Bentham's notion that

> Education is the conduct of the individual through the early part of life. The proper end of education is no other than the proper end of life-well being . . . (and that) . . . the field of education comprises the whole of the individual's time.[27]

The "well-being" referred to is that of both the individual concerned and of his guardian, the Company, at whose expense he was to be educated and in whose care he was to remain while the process was being carried out. Consequently there were three concerns which had constantly to be borne in mind[28] when considering the education of the workhouse child. These were, first, that it should lead to financial profit for the individual and the Company. The second was that it should promote the comfort, diet, health, strength, cleanliness and personal security of the child or apprentice. The third was that the education should be designed to promote the advantage of the individual after he left the House, and at the same time procure some benefit for the public at large. In this respect Bentham included such items as the need to educate the individual so that he would be able to maintain himself, that he would find profitable

amusement, that he would have intellectual and physical strength, moral health, the faculty of pleasing, and religious affections. All these objectives were inter-dependent and inter-related. The company would be in a peculiarly favourable position to put Bentham's ideas for a "complete plan of education" into effect, for it would have total control over the people, including the children, in the institution at all times of the day.[29]

Bentham was particularly concerned with the proper (i.e., the most economical and financially lucrative) use of time.[30] The whole of the pupil's time ought to be accounted for and his total well-being considered, so diet became a matter of concern for him. To understand Bentham's views on this, it must be remembered that his scheme for pauper education was to function within the framework of a profit-making enterprise. The profit would only be realized if expenses were kept in check. One of those expenses was the cost of feeding the pauper population. Consequently,

> in the article of diet, so much in quantity and no more ought to be allowed, than the least quantity sufficient in the instance of each individual for the purposes of health and strength including the most advantageous course in respect of growth, and the complete removal of the pains of hunger and thirst.[31]

Another aspect of this preoccupation with time is the utilization of those periods which are normally lost to productive labour. Bentham thought of this as an hitherto untapped source of national wealth. The customary age at which children commenced work was fourteen years of age. On the other hand, reasoned Bentham, from the age of four years and up it was possible to begin to make a profit out of human exertions. There were, then, ten wasted years in which children were neither productively employed nor were they being educated. This was a period of

> ten years in which except the reaping of that stock of amusement which might be reaped in no less plenty from the field of rational education, ten precious years in which nothing is done! nothing for industry! nothing for improvement, corporal or mental, moral or intellectual![32]

In several other manuscripts, some of them later published in Young's *Annals* (in 1797 and 1798), Bentham elaborated on his proposed compulsory schooling of children in the workhouses. When he considered again the value of teaching the "propositions" of a subject, Bentham recommended that only those which were employed in practice and involved concrete operations should be taught. He believed that such practical propositions, or principles, were easy to understand, consequently,

> by a very easy process, a child, even a very young one, might be made to comprehend as a matter of fact, that spheres are to each other as the cubes of their diameters; a proposition of no

small use in the choice of apples and oranges.[33]

On the other hand, demonstrations[34] were quite another thing. Bentham lamented that

> I never yet met with a motive strong enough to engage me to submit to the fatigue of comprehending it.[35]

Bentham introduced his idea that practical subjects be taught first in the following words:

> Facility, as far as concerns the ideas to be communicated, depends upon vicinity to sense . . . the nearer to sense, the less the demand for exertion; the nearer to comprehended use the less the pain of exertion because the more manifest the recompense. The exercise of the *judgement* requires more attention, that is more exertion, than the exercise of the *perception*, or of the *memory*. Those branches of instruction may therefore be made to take root the earliest, which require least exercise on the part of the judgement, and most on the part of the perception and the memory.[36]

Accordingly, Natural History would be taught first, and grammar where it was taught at all would be taught last. If this method was followed then

> the quantity of really useful knowledge that might thus be administered to the lowest class of the community by the time of their arrival at full age might be the greater than what is actually communicated in the course of that period to the highest class — and that without any loss of time with reference to industry any more than to any of the other objects.[37]

Bentham proceeded to consider the value of tables as an aid to comprehension. He himself made frequent use of such items in his work; all his major works were written to an outline in the form of a table or were later reduced to it.

Reference has already been made to Bentham's concern that the whole of the pupil's time (except that portion of it which was unavoidably, if regrettably, devoted to such unprofitable activities as sleeping and eating) should be devoted to profitable activity. There remained, however, one big gap in the work week, Sunday. This was a day on which it was customary for even the poor to rest and yet for them to do nothing at all was potentially hazardous. The Sabbath, which had been instituted as a day of rest had become, Bentham insisted, a day of idleness instead. Bentham formulated, therefore, a plan for promoting the due observance of the Sabbath which included attending religious exercises, whilst at the same time it allowed innocent and profitable use of the rest of the time.[38] Bentham included a skeleton outline of such use of time in his marginal outlines.[39] It is headed Sunday Occupations, and contains the following

headings: 1) Church Service. 2) Learning to read and write and cypher. 3) Practicing d°. 4) Painting, drawing, etc. devotional designs for ornament to the chapel. 5) Printing books of devotion or morality — not for sale. 6) Mummery-sans dancing. 7) Psalmody and other religious musick. 8) Psychictheology. 9) Military exercise. 10) Swimming.

The Sabbath apart it was necessary that the pupils should be taught the right things in their formative years. Bentham now turned to consider in detail what they ought and ought not to be taught in order to achieve the desired result. In this context his guiding principles were, first, that

> the striking out of any unnecessary article out of the catalogue of studies (when I say useless I always mean with reference to the class of students in question) is a real gain; since any useless article struck out leaves so much room for the useful.[40]

Second, tradition should be discarded, since

> what has been all along learnt (he argued) continues to be learnt: not to gain the advantage of possessing it — but to avoid the shame of not possessing it. It is for this reason that words are preferred to things; and even among words dead languages to living ones.[41]

Consequently, the list of subjects to be discarded is an impressive one. Languages were deleted since they would not be useful to pauper children since "abroad they are not designed to go." Next in order of lack of utility stood History, with Geography but a short distance behind. History, wrote Bentham, can have only two objects, to amuse, and to instruct.

> In the way of amusement, the universally agreeable and for the most part morally useful fictions, bear the palm from that mixture of real and pretended truths called histories.[42]

On the second account his story was instructive only to politicians or those destined to be such. Since this was the very last thing which Bentham had in mind for his proteges, it is not surprising that it was dismissed. It had, in addition, one other great defect. This was

> . . . to familiarise the conceptions and the affections of men with blood and carnage, to dress out in gaudy and attractive colours the most distructive vices, and to annex the idea of honour to injustice and murder upon a large scale.[43]

The other forbidden subjects were poetry ("pleasure for pleasure, push-pin is as good as poetry"), the law (it was in too chaotic a state to be taught to anybody), and rhetoric (it would induce unrealistic expectations on the part of the children of the poor).

After such a formidable list of prohibitions it comes as something of a

relief to find that there is, indeed, something left to teach. In fact, there is a surprisingly lengthy list. It is headed by instruction in Reading (which Bentham felt to be absolutely essential) and is followed by Natural History, Arithmetic, Writing, Chemistry, Mechanics, Geometry, Music, Swimming, Dancing, Morality, and Medicine. Natural History, Chemistry, Music and Swimming were singled out by Bentham for especially close attention. The sciences (which presented to Bentham the challenge of unfailing novelty), contained something valuable. It was not only that what the presented was new, but that it was also useful. Bentham believed that

> at the public expense men ought to be taught nothing but what is really useful — what is agreeable they will in proportion as it is agreeable, teach themselves.[44]

He himself had long taken a close and practical interest in science.

Bentham was convinced that Chemistry ought to be taught to the children of the poor because of its universal applicability to them in their station and economic situation in life. Science was coming to form a part even of the education of the middle and upper classes. Bentham argued that if it was justifiable in such circumstances then it was an indispensable part of the education of the poor, since so many of the everyday processes in which they were involved were derived directly from it. For example,

> On *Chemical* knowledge depend for perfection and improvement, whether in point of economy or effect, all the operations, ordinary and extraordinary, of the House, considered with reference to the composition and mixture of the several materials and the *changes* they are respectively capable of undergoing in that respect; viz: family operations — lighting, warming, baking, cooking, washing, brewing (were brewing to be admitted); manufacturing operations such as steeping (of hemp and flax), bleaching, tanning, smelting; husbandry operations; use of refuse of all kinds for the purpose of manure; also the preservation of the several materials of which the several articles for family use and consumption, as well as the subject matters and instruments of manufacture and husbandry are constituted, from the several causes of decay and destruction to which they are exposed.[45]

Bentham was aware that to suggest teaching Natural History to the poor would be regarded as strange, and the justification of it on the grounds of utility even stranger. He commented,

> Were a man to recommend as subjects for the studies of pupils of such a class the sciences of Tetrapodology, Ornothology, Icthyology, Entomology, and Botany, he would be looked upon as a book-worm whose head had been turned by pedantry.[46]

Nonetheless, Bentham believed[47] that a sufficient number of his pupils would subsequently be engaged in activities in which this information would be of value as to make it worthwhile. Animals are of interest to us in one of two ways, wrote Bentham. The first is by the use we can make of them, the second is because of the mischief and damage they may do us. In both respects a knowledge of Natural History would be of advantage to the person who might have to deal with them, since

> . . . it would be a recommendation to a labourer in husbandry that he understood the art of catching moles, to a servant in husbandry or to journeyman in a Chandler's shop that he understood Rat catching, are propositions that will probably pass without censure. But the Mole catcher is a Natural Historian, a Zoologist, a Tetrapodologist, whose studies have been particularly directed to the genus Mus, just as the Chiropodist is a Surgeon whose studies have directed themselves more particularly to the diseases of the hands and feet.[48]

The other sciences suggested by Bentham were Mechanics and Medicine both of which could easily be justified on the grounds of their usefulness.

Although the sciences occupied pride of place in Bentham's recommended curriculum, there were several other subjects which he considered especially important. The list comprises Music, Exercise, Reading and Constitutional Law.

To teach pauper children to read served four useful purposes reasoned Bentham.[49] The first was to soften their manners by diverting their attention from mischievous pursuits into more socially acceptable and less dangerous ones. The second was to increase the chance of what he termed "extra-ordinary labours of genius." The third was to guard them against mischievous error and imposition of every kind. The last was to facilitate the intercourse of governments with them. The acquisition of this skill was, then, beneficial to the individual and essential to the State. Bentham realized that it would facilitate social control by increasing their awareness of what he regarded as "social realities," and so render them less susceptible to radical propaganda.

Music was desirable from the moral point of view (except that singing had too close a connection with drinking for his personal preference) and was connected with religion.

Bentham was certainly well in advance of almost all his contemporaries in his appreciation of the part that exercise should play in education. *Mens sana in corpore sano* was a working maxim which he thought ought to be applied as much in a House of Industry as on the legendary playing fields of Eton. There were of course a number of criteria that had to be satisfied, and not all exercises were considered as

being of equal value. To be acceptable for use in the establishments exercises had to be varied, beneficial to as many limbs and organs as possible, and profitable either in the financial sense or in the way of conferring useful skills. Bentham therefore considered a number of physical activities from which process only walking, running, rowing and swimming emerge with honour. The first two, being locomotive exercises, exert the muscles in the same proportion fibre to fibre, particularly when accompanied by other strong exercises. Rowing was a strong candidate for inclusion, even though the movements were not entirely free.

Swimming enjoyed a uniquely strong position and possessed a number of major advantages. First of all, it could be practised equally by both sexes (due provision being made for decency) and begin at an early age. Second, it served a useful purpose in saving lives endangered at sea (to make it more effective in this respect Bentham recommended that it should be taught to people who were still clothed, rather in a manner employed in contemporary life-saving techniques).[50] Third, as an exercise combining the useful purposes of sport, increased bodily strength, and personal security, swimming was unsurpassed,[51] the more so as it gave equal exercise to both legs, both arms, and a wide variety of other muscles to boot. Fourth, it could as easily be practised on a Sunday as on any other day, and Bentham reckoned that it ought to be. It was particularly suitable since

> the day on which religion forbids the application of exercise to the purpose of pecuniary economy is the day that ought to be particularly allotted to such exercises as are subservient to the other purposes of sport, development of bodily strength and personal security.[52]

It is reasonable to suggest that at the end of the eighteenth century the provision of schooling for the children of the poor was inadequate and unevenly distributed. It lacked quality and it had not kept pace with the shifts in population that were taking place. In the towns, where it had once been at its most adequate, it was now woefully insufficient. In the country the situation varied greatly from county to county. Everywhere the type of schooling available was inadequate and what existed was primarily concerned to inculcate notions of industry, humility, piety and the maintenance of the social order. Why, then, did it become a matter of importance to educate them at the end of the eighteenth century? Two major reasons are suggested. The first is that the static nature of traditional English life was giving way, under the impetus of agrarian and industrial revolutions, to a more volatile society in which the bonds that bound the various orders to each other and had provided the basis of public order were ruptured by differences in social relations and the migration to the towns. Education was then perceived as a means of ensuring continued order. The second reason is that the increasing num-

bers of such children and their economic importance in the emerging society made it imperative that they be educated. The more of such children there were the greater became the threat that they posed. In this case, too, education was seized upon as a means of gentling the masses.

The extempore state of English education for the poor prevented it from adequately discharging the urgent social function that was then being imposed upon it. Only a comprehensive and consistent system of schooling would henceforth suffice. This was why Bentham's view of schooling is so important. It offered the all-embracing and uniform qualities which were so noticeably lacking. These qualities were, to promote the social control of the masses by the State, to confer benefits in the way of good habits, useful skills and healthy attitudes on the individual, and to do this through a comprehensive, useful, and carefully assembled curriculum, devised and taught in accordance with an humane methodology.

The aim of the formal nstruction was, in accordance with the Principle of Utility, to make men happy through useful and productive work whilst at the same time providing them with the means to make their leisure hours similarly profitable. Formal instruction had a definite role to play in the moral transformation of the poor. Bentham recognized, however, that it could not work in a vacuum. Hence the formal instruction had to be placed first in the context of Utility and side by side with other educational agencies such as the Houses of Industry, the Panopticon, and a variety of informal educational agencies and influences.

Notes

[1] Bentham, J., MSS, UCL 103, 95.

[2] Colquhoun, P., Quoted in *Class and Conflict in Nineteenth Century England*, P. Hollis (ed), London, 1973, p. 333.

[3] Bentham, J., *The Complete Works of Jeremy Bentham*, ed. J. Bowring, London, 1843, Vol I, p. 308.

[4] Bentham, J., *A Scheme for Improved Pauper Management*. Pub. in *The Annals of Agriculture etc.*, ed. A. Young, London, 1797/1798.

[5] Bentham, J., MSS, UCL, 151, 22.

[6] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 151, 23.

[7] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 152, 400.

[8] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 149, 92.

[9] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 151, 284.

[10] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 149, 92.

[11] Ibid., *Works*, IX, The Constitutional Code.

[12] Ibid., *Works*, VIII, p. 8.

[13] Ibid., *Works*, VIII, p. 9.

[14] Ibid., *Works*, VIII, p. 10.

[15] Ibid., *Works*, VIII, p. 10.

[16] Ibid., *Works*, VIII, pp. 11-16.

[17] Ibid., *Works*, VIII, p. 12.

[18] For example, the expectation of profit from the discovery of a practical method of achieving perpetual motion would be prevented by a knowledge of the principles of mechanics. Equally, false hope of profit from the discovery of the "philosopher's stone" would be prevented by an acquaintance with the mineralogical branch of chemistry, and fears occasioned by the existence of "Ghosts, Vampires, Visible Devils, Witches" would be resolved by a knowledge of Natural History. *Works*, VIII, p. 12.

[19] Bentham, J., *Works*, VIII, p. 14.

[20] Ibid., *Works*, VIII, p. 14.

[21] Ibid., *Works*, VIII, p. 14.

[22] Ibid., *Works*, III, p. 206.

[23] Ibid., *Works*, III, p. 206.

[24] Ibid., Published in *The Annals of Agriculture*, ed. A. Young, vol 30, p. 156.

[25] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 153a, 189.

[26] This was originally published in Arthur Young's *The Annals of Agriculture*, Volumes 29, 30 and 31, and subsequently in the *Works*, volume VIII.

[27] Bentham, J., in *Annals of Agriculture*, ed. A. Young, vol 30, p. 268.

[28] Ibid., vol 30, p. 268-269.

[29] Ibid., vol 30, p. 271.

[30] Ibid., vol 30, p. 273-276.

[31] Bentham, J., MSS, UCL, 103a, 101.

[32] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 103a, 107.

[33] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 149, 74.

[34] By this Bentham meant not a visual demonstration but a logical proof.

[35] Bentham, J., MSS, UCL, 149, 74.

[36] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 149, 70.

[37] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 149, 68.

[38] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 149, 83.

[39] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 123, 101.

[40] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 153a, 114.

[41] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 149, 71.

[42] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 153a, 115.

[43] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 153a, 115.

[44] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 106, 76.

[45] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 149, 75.

[46] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 153a, 120.

[47] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 149, 110.

[48] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 153a, 121.

[49] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 106, 77.

[50] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 149, 98.

[51] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 153a, 103.

[52] Ibid., MSS, UCL, 153a, 102.

PART III

Origins and Issues in American Educational Development

The Reform of Education in The Agrarian South, 1900-1950

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State School Commissioner for Georgia, G.R. Glenn wrote in 1900:

> Our great need is a more practical and complete system of schools for the rural districts. A good schoolhouse, a longer school term, a capable and well-paid teacher, and an enriched and graded course of study are as necessary for the rural districts as for the city ward. . . .[1]

The importance of rural education to the scheme of uplift for the South cannot be slighted. Despite the growth of towns, in 1915, the rural population of the South ranged from 70% in Louisiana to 88.5% in Mississippi. Seven of the southern states had a rural population of from 70% to 80%, while in six others it hovered between 80% and 90%. Any reforms in education in the South were logically to involve the farmers.[2] Reformers realized that southern uplift could not succeed until rural education was improved.

As George B. Tindall has noted in his book *The Emergence of the New South*, the South had begun a spectacular rise by the First World War. The Reconstruction Period had ended and progressive reform began sweeping the South. This progressivism, Tindall points out, despite its liberal programs, rested upon conservativism, traditionalism, and individualism. Instead of looking to the future, progressives looked back to a rural arcadia marked by pastoral values, the small farm as the center of the landscape, with independent farmers, storeowners and small manufacturers populating the scene.[3]

Americans paid a kind of homage to "the fancied innocence of their origins" Richard Hofstadter has observed. This innocence made up the "agrarian myth," or the notion that life on the farm was somehow superior to urban existence.[4] However, while this myth retained popularity (at least until the 1930's), the story of rural education is the story of the rapid imposition of quite another myth: the myth of the superiority of urban managerial technology.[5]

At precisely the same time that the rural myth was becoming popular, the plight of the farmer in the South was rapidly deteriorating. A striking fact in this breakdown of the single family farm model was the introduction of tenancy. In 1880 approximately 36.2% of the southern farms were operated by tenants rather than owners. This number had risen to 49.6%

by 1920; and 55.5% by 1930.[6] Novelist Helen Glasgow wrote in *Barren Ground* in 1925:

> Oh, the curse started with the tenant system, I'll admit. The tenants used the land as a stingy man uses a horse he has hired by the month. But the other farmers, even those who own their farms, are no better now than the tenants. They've worked and starved the land to a skeleton, yet it's still alive, and it could be brought back to health. . . .[7]

A single crop dominated economic life: cotton. It would require the efforts of Seaman Knapp and his agricultural demonstration workers to break this monopoly after the turn of the century. Farmers were reluctant to try new methods of farming or turn to alternative crops like sugar cane and rice. The migration of farm youth from the rural to the urban setting brought the rural crisis to a head. It would be the factor which would motivate farmers to open themselves to the new mechanized agricultural techniques of the businessman farmer of the North.[8]

If agricultural conditions were depressed, the schools were in equally unfavorable shape. Small, one-room schoolhouses doted the countryside. Poorly prepared teachers staffed these schools, teaching in whatever manner they could, the Three R's (reading, writing, and arithmetic). Clarence A. Ives, Dean of the College of Education at Louisiana State University from 1923 until 1940 wrote in his autobiography:

> Local schools were not only free to set up their own courses of study; they were under the necessity to do so. The State Department of Education had not yet begun to exercise authority over the ordinary operations of the schools.[9]

Schoolhouses were crude buildings without proper sanitary facilities. A varied collection of textbooks were used. One teacher might teach all eight grades and at times "high school subjects" as well. A local school board exercised complete control over the schools. Teachers did not have uniform salaries, and the typical rural teacher stayed in a school for one year! There was no tenure law to protect teachers from political pressures. Generally a female, the teacher was "boarded around" with the parents of her pupils, receiving room and board as part of her salary.[10]

The "farm problem" was somehow taken to be an educational problem by progressive reformers at the turn of the century. The horrible conditions in the schools would first have to be improved, but by so doing the farmers could then be educated into improved ways of working and living. If rural children were given the same excellent schools that their urban cousins enjoyed, the "farm problem" (variously defined as a decline in farm income, a lessening of status, decreasing population, lowering of living standards, rise in absentee landlords) could be solved.

THE REFORM PROGRAM

Farmers had been pressing for educational reform prior to 1900. As Fred A. Shannon has stated in his work *The Farmer's Last Frontier*, throughout the 19th century farmers had pushed for political remedies for their problems (low commodity prices, high interest rates, high railway freight charges, etc.). After 1877, we find a real interest in agricultural education (especially college work) as a means of bringing relief.[11] Nevertheless, reform was slow to follow and conditions remained unfavorable for southern farmers after the turn of the century. Something more was required.

Local schoolmen with the aid of experts from philanthropic and educational agencies created a model structure for education in the southern states that was drawn in part from the Common School paradigm of New England and built in part from the unique conditions found operative in the South. The General Education Board reported in 1915:

> . . . the South is struggling to educate itself and to improve its educational machinery and organization — struggling with courage and enthusiasm to overcome obstacles created by poverty and long indifference. But adequate direction is lacking. This is the most serious defect, and it is, unfortunately, a defect that the states themselves are not likely to remedy entirely at this time.[12]

While the general course or direction of educational reform could be extrapolated from the reforms of the northern and middle-western states, it was still necessary to study the southern situation before beginning work. To this end, the General Education Board, a group operating with Rockefeller money, established "rural agents" in each of the southern states during the first decade of the 20th century. It was the duty of the rural school agent to assist the state department of education "in making a thorough and dispassionate survey of rural education in his state, including laws, organization, finance, equipment, teaching force and methods, etc."[13]

Once the survey was complete, the General Education Board felt warranted in prescribing the reform program:

> In general, this program should aim to bring about a readjustment which will substitute the county for the district as the unit of organization, administration, and finance; an appointive superintendent with proper qualifications . . . to take the place of the elected superintendent; local as well as state taxation . . . to be made possible; consolidated schools to be favored; the one-room school to be reorganized and developed; facilities to be provided for training teachers for a service rendered more permanent, more attractive, and more fruitful.[14]

It is important to note that the essentials of the program were already arrived at before the survey was undertaken. Hence, the state surveys were designed to merely support what was already known: i.e. that the rural south was ready for reform.

The program was heavily weighted on the side of administrative and supervisory changes. It was assumed that reorganization would prompt an improvement in the delivery of educational services. Clearly it was a top-down reform, for the arguments for change began with the consolidation of small rural school districts and ended with improved teacher training facilities. What Robert Wiebe has called "the search for order" is clearly evident in the plans of the progressive reformers in the South after 1900.[15]

THE REFORMERS AND THEIR VALUES

The leading men in southern educational reform between 1900 and 1950 were white middle-class professionals. Clergymen, newspapermen, business leaders, and schoolmen dominated the movement, and were supported by women's clubs, parent-teacher groups, educational associations, farmer organizations and special interests like the 4-H Clubs, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Farm Bureau, and others. In each southern state a collection of progressive reformers worked actively to fill out the reform platform. Charles W. Dabney, president of the University of Tennessee; Walter Hines Page and Edwin A. Alderman along with Charles D. McIver and Charles B. Aycock in North Carolina; Louisiana's Clarence Ives and T.H. Harris; and in Arkansas, Edgar Gardner Murphy.

Some progressive reformers ranged across state lines and gained national prominance. J.L.M. Curry was one such leader who became identified with the entire region of the South. But, many more individuals worked in anonymous posts in state departments of education or in the various school districts. One such schoolman was M.V. O'Shea, head of Mississippi's public education system in the 1920's. When asked in 1925 to do a study of Mississippi's public schools to determine what changes could be made to meet the standards found in other states, O'Shea responded that Mississippi education was ready for reform. The final report recommended sweeping changes.[16]

First, O'Shea correctly discerned that the philosophy of "mental discipline" dominated teaching methodology in the schools. This outdated approach stressed repetition and rote memorization. O'Shea proposed that teaching be made "functional" so that students could learn to solve problems like hygiene, economics, intellectual, racial, and political puzzles of everyday life.

Next, O'Shea proposed an equalization plan whereby the State as a

whole provide funds to each county unit for maintaining the schools. Since there were vast differences in the resources counties could generate through taxation, the State equalization idea would provide a uniform set of schools throughout the rural areas.

Parent-teacher associations were encouraged to bring the home into better relationship with the school. Here was a way in which parents could better understand the changing conceptions of teaching methods, curriculum, and the assessment of children's needs. O'Shea saw the schools as agents of social reform and parent groups as vehicles for the smooth dissemination of reform.

O'Shea pointed out that Mississippi in 1925 was leading the progressive states in the area of school consolidation. The curriculum changes had allowed for students in the high schools to be prepared for either college or "adjustment to social and natural conditions in Mississippi."

O'Shea lamented the fact that: "The project method of teaching is apparently unknown to many teachers in Mississippi schools, though it is being increasingly employed by progressive teachers in other states of the Union." He criticized the selection of subjects in the course of study and teaching methods based on the old theory of "formal mental discipline."

Teacher training was in need of reform as well. O'Shea criticized the strictly academic courses which were remote from actual life problems. He argued that teachers should be taught about child nature, the relative values of different educational methods, and learning styles. He suggested that every beginning teacher spend some time in a model or "demonstration school" under expert guidance.

Black education was largely to be left to the General Education Board and the funds. O'Shea suggested that "In order to be efficient leaders, they must study the dominant traits of the negro race and the types of vocational, industrial, and social life which will yield the highest degree of financial prosperity and physical, social, intellectual, aesthetic, and moral well-being for negroes in relation to white people. . . ."

The administration of education was in need of simplification and unification, O'Shea pointed out. The entire school network was to be placed under a single Board of Education, in cooperation with the state superintendent and the chancellor of higher education. The emphasis was to be upon rural education rather than college education however.

O'Shea called for a "bureau of tests and measurement" to be created in the state department of education in Mississippi. This bureau was to study the effects of more progressive teaching techniques relative to the older "formal education program" and methods. O'Shea attacked those that emphasized Latin, foreign languages, ancient history, etc., rather than studies that would help students "deal intelligently and efficiently with

this world."[17]

Thus, while national and southern regional progressives laid out the barebones of the program for educational transformation, it was left to state and local educational administrators to implement the plan. L.J. Alleman of Lafayette Parish, Louisiana became parish superintendent in 1901. He was the first professionally trained schoolman to be made superintendent in that parish, and he pushed progressive reforms, such as school consolidation, with the zeal of a true disciple. Alleman's election was followed by other professionally trained educators assuming posts in the parishes of Louisiana. The objective was to staff every administrative post in the state with dedicated schoolmen who would give all their effort to educational uplift.[18]

SCHOOL CONSOLIDATION

The keystone in the bureaucratic reform of southern education was school consolidation. The notion of an efficiently organized and centralized system of county (or parish) school districts appealed to reformers. While the idea of consolidating the small school districts into larger county units originated in New England, southern progressives adopted the plan for their own after 1900.

In practice, consolidation entailed two separate but related changes. First, the single-room rural schools were scraped and replaced with new multi-classroom buildings. School "wagonettes" and later buses were utilized to transport students to these new facilities. Next, the official administrative units called "districts," or "common school districts" were abolished and replaced with county administrations. The local school boards often fought this move, but in state after state the new centralized county bureaucracies took power and replaced them.

State legislatures followed the recommendations of progressive reformers with little resistance. "Upon the advice of influential educators the General Assembly [of Missouri] has, on two or three occasions, passed laws for which apparently the people were not yet making any great demand."[19] Southern educational reformers were able to transform an educational structure dominated by democratic localism into a finely-tuned bureaucracy in two decades.

North Carolina was the first southern state to consolidate its schools. Governor Charles B. Aycock ("the education governor") sought to convince farmers of the need for rural school improvement by pointing to the failures on voter's literacy tests. Better schools would mean more rural youth could vote, Aycock reasoned. In 1902, Aycock called a conference of over forty educational leaders. The outcome was a plan in which these educational progressives would stump the countryside, giving pro-educational reform speeches. The progressives called for school

consolidation, local taxation, and general school improvement measures. When the Southern Education Board, made up of old chums like Charles McIver and Walter Hines Page, selected North Carolina as recipient of financial assistance to up-grade its schools, Aycock's success was assured.[20]

The pattern was repeated with variations in other southern states. Politicians joined forces with progressive educators, newspapermen, teacher-parent groups, and others to bring about centralization of schooling. Farmer resistance to consolidation faded and centralization became the norm. Those who supported good roads, for example, found themselves in league with consolidationists owing to the fact that centralized schooling meant busing students, something requiring paved roads. By 1930, every southern state had consolidated its schools and school districts. School consolidation in the South was to be one of the most successful reforms in the entire progressive reform movement.[21]

While progressives worked hard to convince farmers of the virtues of centralized schools, a traditional value of local control was clearly at stake. Reformers met with stiff opposition from rural southerners when the latter saw their local school being torn down and the children transported to other communities. Resistance crumbled when progressives pointed out that business techniques in agriculture were calling upon farmers to become more efficient, and school consolidation was another way rural life was to be made more economical. The notion of the businessman-farmer received support from the farm press as well as the universities and extension agents. In the end, the businessman-farmer model would replace the yeoman-farmer as the ideal in the South and with it would come school centralization.

EXTERNAL FORCES OPERATING FOR REFORM

Progressive reform in the South could only have succeeded through the financial support of northern philanthropic organizations like the General Education Board. Founded in 1902 by John D. Rockefeller and incorporated by an act of Congress the following year, the General Education Board operated throughout the first five decades of the 20th century supporting progressive reforms in the South (and North). Between the years 1902 and 1947, expenditures to southern education totalled $104,615,527. The money was spent on schools of education, surveys, educational experiments, child growth and development projects, and for general education. The General Education Board financed teacher training programs, state supervisory agents in rural areas, state departments of education, studies, conferences and demonstrations. Educators were granted fellowships and scholarships, grants-in-aid and other incentives to study the latest techniques in teaching and administration at such universities as Peabody and Columbia Teachers College.

The Report of the Secretary of the General Education Board for 1902-1914 reveals the strategic gains determined. The Board called for the move to a county administrative unit for the purposes of taxation and administration; creation of single county boards of education to replace local and district boards; an appointed superintendent over an elected official; full-time county superintendents paid an adequate salary to discourage moonlighting; school consolidation; and, better teacher training facilities.

In addition to the General Education Board, there were a number of other groups working for progressive educational change. The "Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools" was created in Atlanta, Georgia on November 6, 1895. The prime mover, Chancellor James Hampton Kirkland of Vanderbilt University, was selected the first Secretary. Kirkland saw the Southern Association as a means to the end of a southern renaissance in education.[22]

One of the most serious issues facing the Southern Association at the turn of the century had to do with the relationship between the high schools and colleges in the South. Academic preparation in the high schools was viewed as mediocre at best. Colleges and universities were forced to conduct special remedial classes (called "fitting schools") for sub-freshmen to help raise entrance levels of students. In an effort to smooth this transition from high school to college, the Southern Association proposed a classical curriculum for all high school students. In addition, the Southern Association pushed for the four year bachelors degree to replace the three year degree, higher standards for admission to colleges, and a general upgrading of secondary schools through the vehicle of "accreditation."[23]

A new "commission" on secondary schools met in Nashville, Tennessee, on April 4, 1912 with nine representatives from six southern states. Dr. Joseph S. Stewart of the University of Georgia and Professor Bert E. Young of Vanderbilt were chairman and secretary respectively. The commission was told to: 1) agree upon a single report form to be used by high school principals; 2) prepare and define the unit courses of study; and 3) prepare a list of accredited schools in each southern state.[24]

The Southern Association tended to follow the lead of the other accrediting agencies in the North. By the 1930's they were involved in developing "evaluative criteria" or standards for all southern secondary schools and complying with national standards as well. The Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards was financed in part by the General Education Board, the Rockefeller Foundation, and regional groups like the Southern Association.[25]

A power struggle developed between the old guard and a group of younger members of the Southern Association in the 1930's. The newer

members sought to penetrate the elite decision-making bodies of the Association without success. The difficulties were exaggerated by the "Thursday evening dinners" which were attended by the old guard and their wives in full evening dress. The old guard had worked so long together that they dominated the nominating procedures and continued to elect and re-elect their own. Perhaps the most serious offense revolved around the standards and the fact that older member-institutions failed to meet standards. Thus, newer members found a double standard or set of standards operating in the accreditation process.[26]

Dean Clarence A. Ives of Louisiana State University led a move to re-write the constitution of the Southern Association in 1933. This new constitution equalized the nominating procedures and effectively undercut old guard control of the Association. By 1935, when the new constitution was accepted, the younger members had successfully democratized the bureaucratic structure of the Southern Association.[27]

Black secondary schools and colleges were subject to the "separate but equal" myth. A survey was conducted in 1928 showing that Black schools were uneven in many of the same areas as White schools. In 1929, the Southern Association's "Highsmith Committee" received $35,000 from the General Education Board and the Rockefeller Foundation to inspect Black schools. In 1932, the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth was formed. In 1934, the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes replaced that association. The "approved schools" list for Blacks was finally abolished in 1966 as part of the integration of the Southern Association. Thus, for three decades, the Southern Association had supported separate but equal, while subtlely controlling the Black association for accrediting schools.[28]

The National Education Association created an internal "Department of Rural Education" in 1907. The N.E.A. "Proceedings" were filled with reformist speeches for the next several decades. N.E.A. activities provided an outlet for progressive reformers from the South to gain support and ideas. The National Education Association tended to favor administrative centralization, school consolidation, uniformity of curriculum, and other progressive ideas while being dominated by administrators. Thus, the N.E.A. proved to be a powerful ally for southern progressive reform.

Alice A. Pierce, speaking at an annual meeting of the N.E.A. located a number of agencies that were pressuring rural education in the 1930's. She identified twenty-one groups, eight of which were found operating widely: Boy Scouts, Agricultural Extension, Anti-Tuberculosis Society, Parent-Teachers Association, Library Association, Nursing Service, Junior Red Cross, and the 4-H Club. The agencies tended to operate outside of school, but their programs may be seen as efforts to re-direct the traditional notion of education as mental discipline into alternative chan-

nels of social or practical work.[29]

The Women's Christian Temperance Union exercised a remarkable degree of power in the South. Traditionally anti-drinking to a large degree, southern states yielded to the campaign against alcohol abuse via public school instruction. In 1907, Mississippi passed its first law requiring the teaching of the effects of alcohol abuse. The law was a dead letter after 1924, but in 1938 anti-wet forces succeeded in getting a second law passed. A supervisor of temperance was to be selected and a curriculum segment dealing with the evils of drink found its way into secondary school classes in chemistry, biology, physiology, economics, sociology, education, and safety education.[30]

Teacher training departments, normal schools, and teachers colleges offered all types of regular programs, summer sessions, extension education opportunities, etc. to southern teachers and administrators after the First World War. George Peabody College for Teachers, buffered by Peabody Fund monies, and Columbia Teachers College in New York led the efforts to spread the gospel of the new education in the South. Doak Campbell and John E. Brewton working out the Peabody "Curriculum Laboratory" in Nashville, Tennessee, constructed in-service programs for educators in the rural schools of the South. Beginning in 1935, the group studied specific problems of teacher education (implications for teacher education in new curriculum programs, the state and its program of teacher education, current practices in teacher education, education of teachers for rural schools, etc.). Campbell and Brewton grouped their proposals around three goals for teachers (civic responsibility; self-realization; and human relationships). In printed in-service materials, the authors called for teacher trainers to establish in-service or extension programs for local teachers. Campbell and Brewton suggested: reading institutes, reading clinics, curriculum revision programs, local study clubs, camps, workshops, conferences, discussion groups, demonstration schools, health clinics, etc.[31]

Alabama began training teachers through in-service extension classes in 1920. In that year, Alabama normal schools enrolled 1,320 teachers in off-campus classes. By 1924, some 5,693 teachers were enrolled. Teachers took classes in tests and measurement, civics, and rural problems. Instructors for these college level courses were paid extra compensation and given travel expenses. As a consequence of this extension work, teachers flocked to the summer sessions at the teacher colleges throughout the South. Teachers were able to complete their undergraduate degrees or go on for advanced degree work.[32]

THE HIGH SCHOOL

Nothing could have appealed more to the progressive imagination than

creating an entirely new educational institution. The high school was a progressive reformist device in the South in the twentieth century. In 1906, Alabama began building public high schools with the help of the General Education Board. In the same year, the Board established a professorship of secondary education at the University of Alabama. Dr. John W. Abercrombie, president of the university, selected Professor Joel C. DuBose to fill the post. DuBose quickly moved to have the High School Act of 1907 passed by the Alabama legislature, thus creating a system of county high schools for the state. A State High School Commission was formed and charged with the responsibility of locating such schools throughout the state. The state superintendent of schools was ordered to write a uniform course of study for the new high schools.[33]

Alabama public high schools were required to use state-adopted textbooks, state courses of study, and to submit to regular inspection by representatives of the State High School Commission. In point of fact, the Commission was given almost unlimited power over the new secondary schools. The Commission controlled the various county boards of education, and through its inspector, controlled the selection of high school teachers. Older secondary institutions came under critical scrutiny. President Abercrombie and State Superintendent Harry Gunnels succeeded in raising the standards of the existing colleges, thus forcing some of the so-called colleges (in reality private prep schools) to offer four year high school programs or go out of business.[34]

Mississippi had 150 high schools in 1910, of which only six had full four-year curriculums. The low quality schools were often graftings upon elementary schools, taught by the principal and one or two teachers. Most of the teachers were not prepared to teach high school subjects.

Mississippi progressives followed a five step process in re-making secondary education in their state. First, a four year course of study was mandated. Second, a uniform course of study was developed by the new professor of secondary education. Third, a law established a "county agricultural high school system" in 1910. Fourth, an effort was made to upgrade the preparation of high school teachers. And finally, a State High School Meet was created in which youth from the high schools could come to the universities to take part in athletic and debate contests. In 1914, the Mississippi State Teacher's Association created a department of supervision in that body that was found to be ". . . a helpful agency for getting progressive ideas."[35]

In 1908, the Kentucky legislature required by law that all counties create and maintain at least one high school. A county board of education was given control over all high schools in the state, while a state board of education was given the power to set teacher qualifications. There were 1,500 students in high schools in 1908, 5,000 in 1910, and 24,000 in 1920 in Kentucky.[36] Florida instituted a high school system in 1903 after

the state superintendent's office formulated a bill specifying a high school system, a standard course of study, and fixed appropriations for the entire operation.[37]

A special solution to the rural problem centered around the "agricultural high school," a response to the demands of the farmer and his organizations for an educational plant ministering to their needs. In 1908, the Farmer's Union pushed for agricultural high schools in Mississippi. However, a conflict arose between farmers who wished to see these agricultural high schools teach practical farming techniques plus domestic science for the girls, and those conservatives who wished a classical curriculum. In his biennial report, State Superintendent of Public Education Henry L. Whitfield wrote:

> Rural high schools well-distributed in the country would have the tendency to stop the exodus of country people to the town.
>
> They would largely increase the facilities for the education of teachers for the country schools.
>
> Such schools would stimulate a larger number of our boys and girls to go to college or technical schools and would furnish the connectling link between the common schools and the State's colleges.
>
> These schools would create centers of social life in the county.[38]

Thus, the combined demand by farmers and the legislature for high schools resulted in the "agricultural high school" idea. These new schools were to do extension work and give leadership in establishing cooperatives and clubs. Progressives saw them as places to train teachers as well as prepare youth for college work. In 1910, Mississippi had fourteen agricultural high schools, Georgia had eleven, Alabama and Louisiana nine a piece.[39]

After 1910, however, the agricultural high schools were displaced by newer consolidated high schools. The demise of the agricultural high school may be traced to a number of factors: 1) people expected too much from the agricultural high school and it could not fulfill all the demands placed upon it; 2) legislators and farmers were never fully satisfied with the way the schools were operated or the ways in which agricultural and home economics courses were taught; 3) the growth of the consolidated high schools, supported by federal money, displaced that of the agricultural high schools; 4) state departments of education re-imbursed consolidated schools for teaching agriculture; and, 5) instead of setting up model farms on agricultural high school acreage, educators shifted farm projects to home farms.[40]

By 1930, progressive reformers in the South would be attempting to

make rural schools as much like urban institutions as possible. The agricultural high schools simply did not fit into this plan, for it singled out farmers as different. In addition, fewer youth would be remaining on farms after attending school, so a more diversified curriculum, like that offered by consolidated schools, would be accepted. And finally, the ideal of the businessman-farmer would replace that of the sturdy yeoman-farmer of the agrarian myth: successful farmers were those who copied their urban cousins by adopting efficient industrial techniques. The consolidated high school became the answer to the modern farmer's prayer.

SUPERVISION

Another progressive device for reforming rural education in the South was that of the school "supervisor." In the 1920's the southern states began systematically adopting state-wide programs of instructional supervision. John M. Foote, supervisor of rural and elementary schools in Louisiana reported to the N.E.A. in March of 1922 that his state was "now inaugurating and executing a program of instructional supervision."[41]

These new instructional supervisors in the South must be distinguished from *administrative* supervisors. The instructional supervisor was to be in charge of curriculum and teaching methods in the various rural schools. Administrative supervisors were already an accepted part of the bureaucracy that ran the schools, however the instructional supervisors provided a unique service to reformers by penetrating the classrooms and directly affecting subject matter taught and methods used in teaching. With the invention of the instructional supervisor, reformers took control of both the structure and the method of southern education.

Foote pointed out that one of the goals of instructional supervision was "the maintenance of standards of instruction on a level with the best prevailing practices." Another goal was "directing the work of teachers so as to carry out the educational policies adopted by the school board and the superintendent." Instructional supervisors were to provide in-service education of teachers and the supervisor was to "interpret the course of study." Here was a blank check to do whatever was deemed necessary to reform current teaching practices. Instructional supervisors observed teachers and evaluated teacher techniques. Teachers were judged in terms of their efficiency. Foote expected supervisors to purge the rural schools of the older recitation method of instruction, and to replace it with the "review-assignment-study-test" method. By doing demonstration lessons, the supervisor was to illustrate the more practical methods of teaching. In short, the new instructional supervisors were to be agents of progressive change in the schools.[42]

North Carolina began a state-wide plan of rural supervision in 1910 that was typical of the programs found in the southern states. L.C.

Brogden, State Supervisor of Rural Schools authored the plan. Reform called for: placing rural supervisors over teachers in every county; holding annual and group conferences; county supervisors visiting and working with local rural supervisors; and, printing bulletins on the progress, methods of teaching, etc.[43] Mrs. Claytie Bright, a first year rural supervisor in Alabama, wrote of her experiences in 1926. She was a normal school graduate and had studied at other colleges including Peabody and Columbia Teachers College in New York City. She had taught school and worked for a short time in the Alabama state department of education. Mrs. Bright reported that rural teachers she met were inexperienced and not trained well. The primary problem, which she as supervisor helped teachers with, was organization. Mrs. Bright reported that some rural teachers were not using the state approved course of study, nor were they using state selected textbooks. Mrs. Bright may be considered a typical rural supervisor of the time, being overly concerned with efficiency and structure, as well as the desire to make teachers conform to uniform methods and materials.[44]

State departments sent supervisors into the rural areas because local farmers could not be counted upon to produce quality schooling for their youngsters, it was argued. Most southern states had been over-zealous in trying to maintain local control of schools, and progressives hit on curious arguments against such democratic localism. Reformers asserted that the small rural administrative districts could not afford the financial costs of giving expert leadership and services education required. Actually, the larger administrative units would *decentralize* power by keeping a proper balance between state and local government, progressives argued.[45]

Rural supervision fit neatly into the administrative notion of centralized control of schooling. By 1930, eight out of eleven southern states had adopted the county administrative arrangement (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia).[46] Hence, greater and greater power and control were lodged in central bureaucracies, and the supervisors, whether in the instructional ranks, or administrative dominions, operated as functionaries for state dominated school systems.

An indication of bureaucratization of education is to be seen in North Carolina's example. In 1917, a "State Educational Commission" was formed to survey educational conditions in the state. The Commission asked for aid from the General Education Board, and the result was the recommendation that new departments be created in the state department of education: a division of teacher training, a division of certification, a division of negro education, a division of physical education, a division of schoolhouse planning, and divisions of publication and statistics. By 1921, all of the earmarks of a bureaucratic and centralized administration

had been adopted, and by 1953 the organizational chart would have been the envy of any large corporation.[47]

In the state of Alabama, by 1950, there were 126 superintendents, 78 attendance workers, 426 clerical assistants, 67 supervisors (White) in the elementary schools, 9 supervisors (White) in the high schools, 152½ supervising principals (White) in the elementary schools, 333½ supervising principals (White) in the junior and senior high schools. There were 47 supervisors (Black) in the schools, and 126 supervising principals (Black) in the elementary, junior high and high schools.[48] This bureaucracy was required to oversee the approximately 21,611½ teachers in the system.[48]

BLACK AND PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH

The essentials of the rural reform rhetoric in southern education was the same for Blacks: school consolidation, construction of new buildings, choosing better teachers, improving curriculum, cooperation between school and demonstration work, clubs, etc. However, in practice Blacks rarely received equal educational appropriations or facilities. Moreover, emphasis was placed upon industrial and domestic education rather than the more classical curriculum.

The General Education Board, Rockefeller Fund, Jeanes Fund, Rosenwald Fund, and other philanthropic agencies attempted to improve educational offerings in Black schools in the South. The General Education Board offered to cooperate with state departments of education in the South between 1902 and 1915 by contributing money for state agents for Negro Rural Schools. Typically, rural agents for Black schools were White males. The Board attempted to aid Black schools, usually by seeking matching funds from Blacks and Whites in the area where new schools, etc. were to be established. These patrons, if records are to be accepted as accurate, contributed heavily to the uplift of Black schools.[49]

The Journal of Rural Education reported in 1923 that southern states had built 1,700 "Rosenwald schools" and forty-nine teacher's homes at a cost of $6,257,492. While Rosenwald had contributed $1,204,478 of the money, Blacks themselves contributed $1,600,667 to the schools (the balance being made up by Whites and public funds).[50]

Public secondary schools for Blacks appeared in North Carolina circa 1918, but developed slowly until the creation of a "Division of Negro Education" in 1921. Between 1923 and 1929, the number of Black secondary schools increased from 26 to 111. It should not be assumed that these schools were uniform, nor that they were equal to White secondary schools at that time.[51]

When White schools and teachers came under centralization and bureaucratic reform, Black schools and teachers followed. The difference

appeared in what was expected of Black institutions and staff. Generally, Black schools and teachers were expected to remain behind White facilities and faculty. It was not uncommon to prepare two different examinations for certifying Blacks and Whites. Black schools by the 1940's were still ill-equipped, terms were shorter, teachers more poorly trained, and programs of instruction inferior to their White counterparts. But, it should not be assumed that progressive Whites did not care about Black education. Progressive reform crossed the color barriers in all the southern states, but in Louisiana in particular we find dedicated Whites like L.L. Kilgore, Assistant Superintendent of Schools for the State working tirelessly for Black uplift.[52]

Leo M. Favrot, a field agent for the General Education Board in Louisiana, wrote of the conditions in Black schools in 1929. According to Favrot interest in Black education had been steadily improving over the years. He cited the Jeanes teachers and the various philanthropic funds for their contributions to Black education in the South. The 471 four-year high schools for Blacks in fourteen southern states in 1929 showed the interest Black education had generated. The Rosenwald Fund had constructed 4,500 buildings for Blacks between 1917 and 1929. By 1929, there were 351 counties in southern states that had Jeanes agents, and 400 that had a training school donated by the Slater Fund.

Nevertheless, the inequalities persisted. In fourteen southern states in 1929, the average number of students assigned to the White teacher was thirty-one, while the average class side in Black schools was forty-four. The typical length of a school term for the White school was 159 days, whereas the Black schools met for only 129 days per year. The average annual salary for White teachers was $900, and the average salary for Black teachers was $458. And, the South continued to spend more on schooling for Whites ($28.88 as opposed to $10.4 per Black pupil).[53]

Financing a dual system of schooling proved a tremendous burden to an already overburdened South. Many Black schools in the rural sections of the South were so small and so poorly attended that progressive reforms like consolidation hardly affected them. The prime difficulty throughout this period will be to encourage Blacks to go to school in a society where education provided so little payoff.

TEACHERS

Rural teachers in the South watched as the edifice of the educational bureaucracy rose about them. It was natural for teachers to attempt to improve their lot. Teachers had three options, given the reforms of the late 19th century: 1) to work to enhance their prestige; 2) to stabilize employment; and, 3) to protect themselves from outside forces.[54] The first goal was translated into academic training and certification. By the First World War, the movement to require professional training of teach-

ers was supported in all of the southern states. However, it is important to see this movement for higher qualifications for rural teachers growing out of administrative efforts and not as a grass-roots teacher's effort. State Departments of Education created and staffed divisions whose job it was to oversee teacher preparation practices. Teachers came to organize into professional societies in the South only after stiffer professional requirements had been imposed upon them from the top.

The typical teacher in the rural South in the 1930's was a female, unmarried and twenty-three years of age. She had less than two years of professional training beyond high school. She had been teaching 3.8 years, and she was new to the teaching post this school session. On the average she would teach seven different subjects and hear sixteen pupil recitations (of 20 minutes each) during the day. She would walk on the average 5.6 miles to school. Her board and room costs $21.11 and she had one roommate. She was paid $636.12 a year in salary.[55]

As Mabel Carney pointed out in 1931, the extensive adoption of the county unit of administration plus the "aggressive leadership by state departments of education . . . has contributed greatly to higher qualifications for rural teachers."[56]

Progressive reformers invented means whereby they could increase the time spent in preparing for a teaching position, and intensify that preparation. The "gatekeeper" function of administrators in state departments of education was entrusted to them by legislatures throughout the South. In response to the rigors imposed by managers, teachers began demanding certain protections, such as tenure and uniform salary schedules. The upshot was that school teaching gained in respectability and security between 1900 and 1950.

As Robert Wiebe has stated: ". . . the teachers supported professionalized school administration, nonpartisan school boards, and definite procedures for promotions, all to discourage meddling by powerful outsiders. A tangle of regulations and rituals that would appall a later generation of critics meant professional self-preservation at the turn of the century."[57] However, it is important to keep in mind the fact that while the single schoolteacher in her one-room schoolhouse remained the norm in the South, she could do little herself to improve conditions; it took school consolidation, centralization of authority in larger and larger units of administration, and the resultant impersonalization of relations between teachers and supervisors to prompt teachers to begin to seek improvements in their job security and compensation.

Progressive reform happened to teachers, and was not subject to their democratic vote. By way of example: as inducements to lure urban teachers to the country, southern progressives built "teacher-ages" to house them. The most irritating feature of teaching in the rural areas was

the traditional practice of "boarding around." Unmarried teachers were forced to live with the parents of their pupils. Room and board were provided in this way and considered part of the teacher's salary. Teachers disliked the invasion of privacy, petty gossip, poor food, and repeated dislocations that boarding yielded. Reformers proposed building teachers homes or dormitories to house teachers for the consolidated schools in agrarian sections.

The teacherage idea was sold to school boards and administrators on the grounds that this was an inexpensive device useful in retaining the more qualified teachers required in the consolidated schools. The teacherage could be made to pay for itself in rents, which would be extracted from teachers' salaries. The teacher's home could function as a model home for the wives of farmers in the area. The teacherage might serve as a center for rural social life. And, the teacher's home was to make the rural school just like the urban consolidated school by providing the same facilities as city teachers enjoyed.

Most importantly, the teacherage provided another means of rural progressive reform. This home would introduce the farmer to the latest in plumbing and sanitary facilities, be interrelated to the model farm, support the consolidated school through home economics classes and social activities, and in general contribute to the vision of agrarian uplift. Few challenged the basic assumptions underlying the teacherage. Modelled upon the parsonage, the teacherage elevated the teacher and separated her from the parents she had grown to dislike. As a badge of professionalism, teachers accepted the teacher's home, not as an institutional effort to replace a true home of their own, but rather as a kind of extension of college housing, a sorority house in the country. Teachers would reflect upon their years in the teacherage as wonderful adventures, and "the girls" might well throw re-unions years later to celebrate common experiences.[58]

Whereas rural schoolteachers in the South were by-and-large autonomous in 1900, with few bureaucratic demands made upon them, by 1950 they found themselves almost at the bottom of a towering structure of administrative and supervisory experts. Given the growth of centralization of authority and power, it is reasonable to expect teachers to seek some protection for themselves, whether it be through teacherages or associations.

Of the approximately 120,866 teachers in the southern states in 1907, only about 8.2% were members of state teachers associations. By 1923 however, of some 199,563 teachers, 82,468 (or 41.3%) were members of teacher groups. By 1930, 67.3% were members of state teachers associations, or some 175,472 teachers. One earmark of a successful association is the ability of that group to support a full-time secretary. The paid full-time official of state teachers associations came about in the 1920's.

But, teachers associations in the South were segregated. Of the eleven southern states in 1930, all of them reported separate "colored" teachers associations. While 116,131 White teachers belonged to a state teachers association, only 21,288 Black teachers were members. It is not surprising to find that only 38.7% of Black teachers sought refuge in teacher associations in the South in 1930 given the low salaries and poorer training they received.[59]

THE DEPRESSION AND PROGRESSIVE REFORM

The crash of 1929 and the subsequent depression served as a catalyst for progressive reform in the South. For, attention was focused on the schools owing to the fact that: 1) financial support for existing programs was threatened by the depression; and 2) schools were looked to for possible solutions to the sorry condition of the economy.[60]

A classic scenario of southern progressivism during this time of economic troubles was played out in Mississippi. The State Department of Education, supported by a grant from the General Education Board, and in conjunction with the "Division of Surveys and Field Studies" of George Peabody College for Teachers conducted a survey of the curriculum in Mississippi in 1934. It fell upon the State Board of Education, the Mississippi Education Association, the Congress of Parents and Teachers, to implement "The Mississippi Program for the Improvement of Instruction," which grew out of the survey.

Behind the scenes, consultants Doak Campbell and Hollis Caswell of Peabody College for Teachers met with a group of Mississippi reformers and wrote a bulletin to be used in regional conferences for school officers and teachers. The bulletin instructed the conference members to "improve instruction" via an instructional program which made more significant contributions to the welfare of the person and populace of Mississippi. Work in the schools, they were told, must be better adjusted to the social and economic conditions of the day. Participants were instructed to read: *Dare the School Build a New Social Order*, by George Counts; William H. Kilpatrick's *The Educational Frontier;* Charles A. Beard's *A Charter for the Social Studies;* and, *The Great Technology* by Harold Rugg. In subsequent bulletins, the participants learned: ". . . the school should be a conscious agency for social improvement and should provide insight as to the direction of social change. . . ."[61]

It is not surprising to hear the more than 10,000 teachers and 451 conferences being in favor of a progressive curriculum revision for the State of Mississippi. The groups recommended that: 1) teachers adopt more democratic attitudes toward pupils; 2) teachers use a wider selection of instructional materials; 3) attention ought to be directed toward the individual child and guidance services should be provided all children; 4) the curriculum ought to be linked with the problems of life; and

5) practical subjects ought to be developed in the schools. Interestingly, the groups made no suggestions as to structural changes or the need for additional training for teachers required by the new curriculum.[62]

Teachers were happy to be working in the early 1930's. The severe economic depression forced rural southern teachers to embrace any solution (even Counts' radicalism) to the problem. The schools and schoolteacher were among the first to be affected by the depression. By 1932 every southern state had begun cutting back on expenditures for education. The depression fomented a reduction in school programs; reduced capital outlay; reduced teacher salaries; and a reduction in school term.[63]

The effect of the depression was to force legislation which 1) increased entrance qualifications for those wishing to become teachers; 2) temporarily suspended laws requiring working teachers to complete additional professional training to renew or extend certification.[64] Thus, those who held teaching jobs, no matter how poorly trained, were retained, while those seeking teaching positions were forced to take more coursework to gain certificates. Legislation in effect held the doors to the profession somewhat closed during the 1930's. The control of the teaching profession was one of the distinct outcomes of the progressive reform period in the South.

CONCLUSIONS

If we compare rural schooling in 1950 with education in country schools in 1900, the depth and range of progressive reform in the South is clear. As we noted, G.R. Glenn was calling for a complete system of rural education, marked by good schoolhouses, a longer school term, capable and well-salaried teachers, and an enriched and graded course of study, in 1900. By 1950, the rural south had been transformed. A complete school system, marked by a hierarchy of school administration, county school organization, and professionally trained schoolmen dominated. Consolidated schools, offering rich curriculums including agricultural and home economics classes. We have seen how external forces like the WCTU exerted influence upon curriculum and methods. The high school and the rural supervisor appear as devices to force progressive reform on more teachers, even in the remotest areas. At the bottom of the hierarchy were found the teachers, and Black teachers were perhaps most severely handicapped. And finally, the great economic depression of the 1930's served as a means of furthering progressive reform along more radical lines.

Perhaps the best indicator of how much progressivism had accomplished may be seen in Kentucky's "looking to the future" in 1950. The Superintendent of Public Instruction called for further reforms in that year that built upon the progressivism of the past. He wanted the state legis-

lature to force a "minimum program" for all counties as they financed their school systems; he called for more consolidation in the face of the teacher shortages of that year; he asked for the reorganization of school districts "into efficient administrative, supervisory and attendance units. . . ."; the Department of Education was to be expanded with new supervisors in guidance and counseling, finance, music education, audio-visual education, speech and hearing, and mental retardation; he called for a nine month school term; and asked that the State pick up the tab for school busing.[65] The plans for the future built solidly, and took for granted, the progressive gains that had been made between 1900 and 1950. By 1950, the South had state-wide, centrally run and operated, professionally staffed, uniform public school systems. The structure and function of these systems differed very little from those found in the North or West. What marks the progressive changes in the southern schools as different was the speed and the degree of intensity progressive transformation manifested. In five decades, the South built *two* complete public school systems (one for Whites and the other for Blacks), and although it would never entirely match schooling in other regions, the creation of such an organization must be seen as remarkable.

Notes

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A Davenport School's Romantic Affair with Southern Plantation Belles

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Mainly this is the story of how ladies from southern plantations were especially drawn to one Davenport private school during the Civil War. The account answers a few questions: What attracted the southern gentility to Davenport before the War? How far had the private school in Davenport that was to accommodate plantation daughters matured by the time the War broke out? Then in the South itself, what were plantations like before the War and what provisions were they already making for educating their females? What aspects of the War itself came to the riverside plantations?

When the girls were dispatched upriver during the War, what easy and difficult adjustments did the Davenport school and its human contents make? What regulations were altered and how did the girls' presence help to expand and glorify the school? Finally, what permanent effects from the pulchritudinous invasion from the South marked the school?

What was Davenport like, what were its special attractions and diversions to down-river nabobs? The community was founded in 1836, the same year that steamships established regular river schedules as far up as Davenport, linking it to the south. Four years later the town claimed 800 inhabitants,[1] and southern aristocrats already knew it contained a "salubrious climate," sufficiently elevated to catch summer breezes; while epidemics devastated many river towns to the south, Davenport escaped almost unscathed.[2]

Although there were no paved roads, and anyone venturing out after dark was required to carry his own lantern, this "lovely little village" was already teeming with travelers.[3] Local editorials proclaimed it "as delightful a summer residence as (the territory of) Iowa has within its limits,"[4] with none of the lassitude incident to more southern situations. Even competitive Muscatine praised the citizens of Davenport as containing a spirit of good taste and comfort.[5]

Only 3 years after Antoine LeClaire helped establish the town, he erected the remarkable LeClaire House, a gracious hostelry that would

link the community with the river plantation affluence to the south, yet a hub popular with the local gentry. The aristocratic language often overheard there was French. Southerners dubbed the hotel their "palace in the wilderness," where they came to escape the breezeless summers and debilitating epidemics which threatened the lower Mississippi.[6] They treated it as their own home, comparing its elegance to their mansions, and although its architecture was classical revival, they described it as looming above the waterfront in all the splendor of a medieval castle. The resort hotel took up a major portion of the city block on Second Street stretching between Brady and Main and was 3 stories high, crowned by a balustraded deck. Its brick facade stood on a solid stone foundation, with a portico graced by 4 Doric columns and surmounted by an ever-occupied balcony looking on a full expanse of the River.[7]

The finished basement contained a reading room, bar, a sometime post office and a barber shop, while physical contents of the entry floor included the sumptuous dining room, 2 parlors and sitting room. Above were 40 guest chambers. This generous interior dispensed exceptional food and lavish parties were *de rigueur*, sponsored by successful Saint Louis merchants or southern plantation families, or even occasionally by Davenport nobility. More relaxing, built-in diversions for guests, inserted between soirées, included fishing,[8] boating, picnicking, hunting fowl or deer, riding or driving through the open countryside, horseshoe tossing, bowling on the private green, card parties, gambling and other nocturnal pleasures.

Just before the Civil War broke out Franc Wilkie in his book on early Davenport[9] reported that "This house is so well known to the travelling community that any notice of it is almost superfluous. Here is a marvel of beauty not excelled anyplace on the Mississippi Valley. It *is* Davenport proper — the rallying point of all residents."

Although prominent Roman Catholics such as Antoine LeClaire played a central role in founding Davenport, Catholics in the community remained in the distinct minority, at least until the influx of Irish and southern Germans. The year after the town was formally established not more than 1 in 4 residents was Catholic and in 1843, when the town population numbered 1200, about 300 Catholics[10] were counted. They were inclined to be poor, assuming many of the menial labor jobs.

It was mainly in order to serve this impoverished minority that the Immaculate Conception Academy (I.C.A.) was planted in 1858 at "Poverty Point," an uncluttered acreage 2 miles northwest of city center.[11] Thanks in part to the school's ultimate link with affluent elements in the south, the girls' boarding school was to become the area's most durable Catholic seminary, yet its start on the point was anything but encouraging. Its initial *Prospectus* advertised its healthy isolation, yet at first it registered NO students, and never more than 7 were served at this

location, linked to town seasonally only by uncharted mud ruts and surrounded in its beauty by timber which might contain snakes, wolves, massacring Indians or desparately escaped Blacks from the south, or any combination of these terrors.[12]

At that isolated site the academy persevered for only 2 years, then moved downtown for a fresh start, where timber had been cleared and where commuting students or even boarders would feel the environment was safe even from congestion. Most private schools in Iowa's bustling development were functional types,[13] offering teacher, commercial or college preparation, but I.C.A. attracted many potential nuns and its curriculum remained strictly religious-moral,[14] cloistering the young students from exposure to the encrouching evils, real or imagined, of the surrounding city. Although the institution avoided the reputation of a finishing type designed to prepare students for a continuing life of noble leisure, this imagined quality of the school was presently to attract a body of southern genteel daughters.

Once the institution was established downtown it proved to be an immediate success, even though its primary move to the rented Savage property on Brady Street was planned as only temporary. There it instantly flourished[15] until in 1864 it moved permanently into the "rich man's castle," fashioned like a tall round-house for the wealthy banker, R.B. Hill.[16] The original building no longer dominates the scene at 8th and Main streets, yet the substantial addition which marks it unquestionably as an academic structure has now become absorbed as part of the Palmer College of Chiropractic.

Details of the plant may be fascinating and have been described in words as well as photographs by Sister Mary Coogan in her historical dissertation on the I.C.A.'s development,[17] yet the central theme here is how the physical and educational qualities of the institution adjusted to southern students and vica versa. As indicated earlier, southern nabobs already knew Davenport, and when the Civil War came to their estates along the Mississippi River, the immediately available solution to the protection of their daughters, whether they bore Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian or Episcopalian labels, was to send them to the cloistered environment of the Immaculate Conception Academy. Thus hopefully the salubrious climate would be perpetuated through the winter months, the environment would remain clear of plagues, and the girls would be preserved in isolation until the War ended and they could return, prepared for marriage to some chivalric southerner.

But before introducing the southern girls to Davenport's special academic lure it is necessary to look briefly at the area which was to provide these genteel females. What had been their riverside plantation life? What private education in seminaries or through tutors was already available to daughters? Or what educational connections with the North already

existed before the War erupted?

In these words one passenger described the array of plantations he observed as his steamer plied the lower Mississippi waters: "Both banks are lined with charming estates from the midst of which rises the airy mansion of the wealthy planter, surrounded with orange, banana, lime and fig trees.[18] The traveler might also have noted that such grand estates as The Myrtles, Rosedown, Greenwood and Oakley were themselves referred to as the "swell-heads," for pretenious owners frequently maintained their own racetracks, stables and private steamboat landings; all raised cotton and sugar cane, with fields often extending from the riverside to points beyond the horizon. Soaring pillars fronted some homes, and the more vertical columns there were, the more elegant the home. Some had Georgean facades, others looked like Greek temples, and a few stood on stilts to catch whatever summer breezes wafted by.[19]

In the years preceding the Civil War northerners held a monopoly of fine home craftsmen; they were frequently hired to finish the interiors of some of the most gracious Mississippi River manses. One residence in the rich Natchez area, where a hundred plantations prospered, had northern work artisans finishing the inside when the War came to the river and the Yankees hastily abandoned their tools, heading north to fight for the Union side. To this day that handsome home at Longwood remains as an impressive shell minus a finished interior.[20]

Young southern ladies, nurtured on ante-bellum plantations, were often sent to near-by private seminaries which polished them into mature women of the aristocracy. One writer on southern "estatehood" summarized the gentle lady thus:

> Reared in luxury among chivalric people, women received the most unbounded honor and even adulation. The bearing of women toward men was almost as extravagant as in medieval days. Their education was confined to the acquirement (sic) of certain accomplishments such as music, painting, wax-working and fancy needlework.[21]

The private boarding school, usually called "seminary" in the south, commonly prepared the lady through an all-pervasive religious and moral training.[22] Her principal courses would be in home management, including components of maternal influence, social usefulness, physical health, intellectual enjoyment and mental discipline. The final component, deliberately difficult to define, would hopefully equip the girl to solve new tasks in an unpredictable future. Over-all, the southern seminaries in particular claimed to produce the most refined and cultivated ladies of noble and grand purpose — "such as would bless every community in America."[23]

By the onset of the Civil War such purposeful schools had become a

familiar feature along the banks of the southern Mississippi River. One of the country's very first girls' schools had been established in New Orleans in 1724,[24] and a few more bloomed on the river scene during the next century, then a sudden abundance of exclusive lady-schools started to sprout along the entire southern river. More and more were opened until by 1860 Missouri had at least 5, Tennessee 8, and Mississippi 5.[25] Mainly these were denominational schools, with Methodists, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics competing to lure "accredited" females.

The progressive governess of the Elizabeth Female Seminary at Washington, Mississippi indicated that her own exclusive school had burst beyond the traditional feminizing courses to embrace "the entire map of human knowledge."[26] That headmistress, Mrs. C.M. Thayer, advertised courses for girls in Latin (stressing punctuation!), history, chemistry, geography and astronomy (with globes), yet she craftily included an armament of domestic refinements which included graceful dancing, evening manners, practice in blushing when the sleeve is kissed, needlework and "solitary amusement in the parlor." Like other exclusive secondary schools in the South, it prescribed its own distinctive uniform and even offered high-school "degrees" in Mistress of Fine Literature or Science.[27] This exclusive academy was situated close to Natchez and served that area so rich in large plantations.

The even more desirable alternative to the away-from-home school was the special tutor who resided on the plantation to instruct daughters in parlor manners and in domestic aspects of running a grand manor with enough servants to go around. For example, the well-known bird specialist John James Audubon, once taught drawing and dancing to beautiful Eliza Pirrie, daughter of the plantation owner at Oakley in Louisiana.[28]

Many tutors, such as Audubon, were treated with the utmost consideration by "families of cultivation." Some were provided with a horse, a library and an abundant supply of "segars" — even a bedroom in the manse.[29] Commonly they came from the North, and more than a few suffered nostalgia. Fairly typical of this situation was a Harvard graduate, who wrote home that he was ridiculed and never accepted by the plantation family.[30]

Even as war with the North seemed unavoidable some affluent planters sent their adolescent daughters back to New England, Pennsylvania or New York for some plantation owners had been born in the Atlantic area and saw benefits to returning their daughters expensively to the northeast for their private schooling.[31]

Just what happened along the Mississippi River during the early 1860's that would prompt southern plantation owners to send their fair daughters northward to the confining cloisters of a Davenport school? Even before 1861, when rumbles of war were ominous, major epidemics of yellow

fever had festered along the lower river; Memphis and Natchez, where hundreds of fine plantations fringed the river, had been particularly hard hit with pestilent and often lethal mosquito invasions.

The initial land battle of the Civil War took place just west of the Father of Waters.[32] Saint Louis, even before altercations commenced, had been sympathetic to the northern cause, and during the War it built entire fleets of gunboats and river rams to arm its preferred side. Following David Farragut's bloodless capture from the sea of New Orleans, his men held as Union turf the entire Mississippi shore between Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and it was fifteen months later that General Grant moved in from the northeast to secure Vicksburg and its confederate lands abutting the River. The northern General declared this to be the War's turning point. A year later, to the north at Port Hudson, the "river war" was ended.

A few posts, such as fortified Island #10 across from Columbus, Kentucky, were held from the start by southern forces, but when the southern volunteers became dangerously thinned, such posts were abandoned.

Earlier in this account it was noted that while the Catholic female academy at Davenport was located on its prominence two inaccessible miles from city center, it had never attracted many students. The moment it moved in 1861 to an available place downtown — temporarily renting space in the abandoned Sargent home — it became instantly popular, "resulting in such a large enrollment of boarders that the house itself was used for living quarters and a large barn on the estate was converted to classrooms.[33] Although many from the Davenport area, including western Illinois, enrolled at this central location, its move coincided with the outbreak of the Civil War, and southern planter families perpetuated their Davenport connection by sending their daughters to the ICA for its cloistering protection as well as its finishing-school reputation.

An impressive ledger kept during the early years of the school still exists. When a student enrolled each year, her date, name and home town were inscribed in a beautiful Spencerian hand in the ledger. Each year the number of day and boarding pupils was totalled, reflecting the impressive increase of students during the War years.

In all of those years about sixty students from the South were boarded. There is no extant record as to how long they remained, and they seemed to drift in at any time of the year. We do know that the first girl to *graduate* from the school did so in 1870. So for the first 21 years of the ICA's existence, girls enrolled for a year or two at a time, and for them there was no formal graduation ceremony. This "finishing school" apparently offered courses, but no "classes" were named at the institution during those early years.

As the school's principal historian indicated in her thesis, "large

numbers of students from the southern and border states" came to fill the dormitory rooms.[34] Five at one time — all with thoroughly Hibernian names — ascended the River from Saint Louis in 1862. Plantation daughters from the tobacco-growing Padukah area and others migrating upstream from Caruthersville farms in southeast Missouri where the most northerly cotton was planted.[35] Some owners of the hundred River estates of the wealthy Natchez area planted their girls aboard the River steamers heading North,[36] and a few names on the institution's ledger were from Louisiana's vast Marmillion estate of San Francisco (a corruption of Sans Frusquins, meaning penniless). A few made the longest journey — from the southern tip of the Mississippi at New Orleans.[37] Some ledger inscriptions from the South appeared annually, yet a few would enroll at entry in 1862, then re-enter the school in 1864 or even later.[38] According to the school's religious records, more than one girl was converted to Catholicism during her stay there.[39]

Despite the impeccable records kept by the school itself, the most helpful information seems to have come from today's ardent genealogists on the estates themselves.[40] Thus, encouraging attendance from the more-or-less wealthy southern girls, plus Davenport's own impressive increase of immigrants during the early 1860's, assured the perpetuation of the ICA. Dormitory space during those early years was consistently crowded, varying from year to year up to 89 students, yet the "day dodgers," who commuted in only for classes and were forbidden to communicate with boarders, regularly outnumbered the intramural boarders.[41]

Beyond the familiar benefits of Davenport to the travelling southerner, the neophyte Catholic institution by the early 1860's seemed tailored to the needs of the "river belles" who were to be sent there for protection against the crudities of war. One institutional declaration seemed especially appropriate and must have caught the eye of southern parents: "Woman is the ornament of the palace and the sunshine of the cabin."[42] Although this was intended as assurance to Iowa's parents whose daughters came either from the better homes of Davenport or from the rural areas of the state, the first part of the statement was sufficiently flexible to be seen as addressed especially to the southerners.

One inscribed guarantee was common to most female boarding schools of the time, yet it was certainly perceived as especially pertinent to the Davenport school:

> "Parents are assured that mild but firm government will be paid pupils, while all possible care will be taken to nurture in their minds those principles of virtue and religion which alone can render education profitable."[43]

And there was confession that pupils arrived at the school in improvable condition: "Increased care and vigilence will be exercised to pro-

mote moral and intellectual improvement of the pupils." Students from abroad (meaning beyond the commuting range) held to prophylactic rules. Their mail would be rigorously scrutinized and censored by the Mother Superior. None from a male (m-a-l-e) should get across her desk unless from a bona fide brother or father. No "Bill" or "Jack" signatures, unless pre-recorded in the office as of the immediate family.[44]

Many regulations were shared by other private female schools. Boarders were never seen downtown without a wimpled Sister accompanying, and even then, purchases were confined to such simple necessities as toothbrushes. Catholic boarders descended the street for Sunday Mass in single file with a Sister in front and another bringing up the rear, although admittedly certain freedoms were allowed Methodist and Presbyterian daughters from the South who also were required to attend their own churches on Sunday.[45] Because of the inflammable political and national mix in Davenport itself, politics and religion were taboo subjects for discussion among the girls.

As students lined up to enter school the first day they were required to bring certain essentials. All brought a furnished work box (trunk or locker), 6 measured towels, as many table napkins, a comb, a "personal" tooth and hair brush (sic), table knife, fork, dessert and tea spoon and tumbler.[46]

Southern belles who had become accustomed to being waited upon by servants and slaves felt right at home under the sisterly protection at I.C.A. Duties of nuns were frequently established at the most servile level. They personally assembled, sewed and tailored the uniform common to all girls, they scheduled and drew consecutive baths for Saturday evening ablutions,[47] transporting the buckets of water and draining and cleaning the tubs between customers, made their beds, and tenderly nursed and fed them when they were in the sick bay.

Like many rural students who go away from home to college today, these unfamiliar dormitory amenities were poshly foreign to their accustomed way of life, yet for southerners they were touches of home, making even the austere environment of the school an extension of everything they had been accustomed to in their river palaces.

All that the southern girls encountered thus far at the Immaculate Conception Academy should have been anticipated; after all, the school's regulations and provisions were summarily printed in the *Catalog*. Beyond the reception desk into the dormitory, however, the southern girls in particular underwent a very real change in life style. At home they had spent unhurried hours primping before generous-sized mirrors,[48] rouging their cheeks as well as arranging every strand of hair in their coiffures — even watching the reflection of their practiced social motions for impending evenings of fine dance and entertainment. Before the looking glass

they had rehearsed their manners, seeking compliments from their entourage of maids in attendance.

By contrast at the Davenport school there was NO time for vanity. In the common washroom in the basement of I.C.A. the austere sinks drained into what was called the common gurgle of plumbing. All was as drab and colorless as a nun's vestment. Here there wasn't a single mirror — only a place to brush teeth and wash the hands and face.[49] From now onward, until release from the confining academic walls, adjectives such as "prim" and "decorous" — especially when related to the adolescent physiognomy — were taboo. Uniforms were designed to unsex all girls into a plain drape, with no signs of ostentation such as might be fashioned before the gilded looking glass. Here indeed was a trauma faced by the Mississippi River belles.

During Iowa's 19th century, most academies, for the sake of efficiency, contained members of both sexes.[50] Catholic institutions by contrast housed only boys or girls. A non-stop concern of school administrators, to say nothing of parents, was that an epidemic would fester within the confines of these close-quartered schools. Special efforts were made to prevent such outbreaks, for tragic deaths might occur, the school could lose its healthy reputation and patronage, and its program could be cancelled out or delayed.

Girls' schools, such as the Immaculate Conception Academy took added precautions, for it was the common thinking of the day that girls' minds were drained by mental exercise and that if their delicate and undersized heads were put to too much strain they might either be rendered sterile or at best might produce abnormal offspring.[51] Thus schools admitting females took special measures to counteract this would-be feminine frailty. Ladies' boarding establishments were the first to introduce such subjects as gymnastics, calisthenics and recreation programs, so that girls could compensate for the "natural weaknesses."[52]

Even before the southern girls came to the Davenport Catholic school it was building a very respectable health program, and by the time the Civil War had expired, the institution had established a special reputation for its excellent intramural recreational and calisthenics offerings. The school's administration placed special effort on this because the southern girls had come to Davenport for its plagueless climate. By the end of the War its recreation and exercise course was so effective that it was proudly advertised as an institutional virtue. Annually the girls opened their doors for a public display of mass calisthenics performed by all students. Indeed, an editorial in a local newspaper proclaimed that public schools had a sound lesson to learn from I.C.A.'s well rounded health program and that it was high time the community institutions copied the private school's practices.[53] (It was not until 1924 that the state of Iowa *required*

such programs in *all* public schools.)

From its inception the I.C.A. offered a substantial refinement-oriented program for girls. By contrast to the thoroughly practical sequence of most frontier institutions, here was a finishing school, with substantial offerings in poetry, music, art and moral refinement.[54] The last of these permeated every aspect of the school's operation.

Strengths in the curriculum at I.C.A., as in other institutions, reflected mainly the talents of the teachers assigned to the school. Thus its vocal and instrumental music program — called "this delightful art," became a strong attraction to the institution during the war between states. Indeed under Sister Cecelia Dougherty it became the school's best known department.[55] She came to the school in 1859 and was to build music there for almost 2 decades. By the time the school moved to permanent quarters in 1864, and at the height of its popularity among daughters of planters, it was adding as much as one piano a year. At least 2 Steinways came — other annual additions were less grand. As mistress of music Sister Dougherty demanded other musical acquisitions such as finger strengtheners, a violin, a banjo, a mandolin and a dulcimer,[56] and these gracious amenities were generously advertised in each year's *Prospectus*, distributed to interested parents. Sister Dougherty served from the start as Directress of the school and of its music, and so popular was her offering during the War that a second Sister was added to assist her.[57]

Another female attraction to any ladies' department of our 19th century academies was art, and I.C.A. hardly neglected this subject. As the school burst with students during the early 1860's it attracted a talented Sister Mary Regis, an artist who was already on the way to gaining a reputation as a display designer. Her school program was structured to "move the girls upward from landscapes and other nature drawings, starting with geometrical solids and simple objects,"[58] toward studies in heads and figures in charcoal and crayons. Although music was pretty consistently the best known department of the school, sometimes the art department seemed to threaten the musical utterances as the Sister artist displayed her own works in public galleries, thus advertising one strength of her institution well beyond the provincial walls of the river community.

Since the days of Greek oratory in the market place, male education had stressed the importance of public lectures and debates.[59] Girls had never been allowed to prepare for comparable adult responsibilities, but a concomitant of their 19th century liberation from the toils, deliveries and confines of home was emergence of their new need for self expression. Courses in "elocution" — in proper poise and conversation, became popular, especially in "finishing schools,"[60] and although the subject never gained the reputation at I.C.A. that the school's music and art attained, it was offered as an essential to the feminine quality. Graceful

manners for delivery of poems and songs were reiterated, and speaking and dramatic assemblies arranged.[61]

During the early Civil War I.C.A. added French to its array of refinement offerings.[62] This was especially appropriate to the planters' daughters, for frequently an impressive display of French had been the mark of important social gatherings. As mentioned before, when entire plantation families came north to LeClaire House in Davenport they often played cards, rode their horses, announced their hunts, or even pitched horseshoes in the aristocratic European tongue.

Southern girls coming to the Immaculate Conception Academy in Davenport retained their soft speech as well as their noble customs. They had been transmitted North, not to be converted into hardy frontierswomen, and their presence accrued some very positive effects for the Davenport institution. First of all, the reputation of the school, established in a relatively poor environment, was significantly enhanced as members of the genteel southern aristocracy gilded the institution with an elitist air. Non-Catholics coming North impressed local residents that here was a school which could properly polish their daughters, no matter what their faith. Thus it ultimately attracted some of the wealthier young ladies from Davenport and beyond.

Many boarding schools in Iowa could never fill their spacious dormitories; too frequently the schools were most attractive to "day-dodging" commuters. The Davenport I.C.A. had a generous-sized dorm, and the southern girls helped fill out these internal spaces, bringing much needed tuition, board and room money to the institution. All in all the presence of southerners helped to perpetuate the existence of the school far into the 20th century so that it remained on the scene for a total of 99 years — far beyond the endurance of almost all private schools in the midwest.

Notes

[1] Paris Denny, *Census of Davenport* (Davenport, Iowa: n.p., 1858), 5.

[2] Editorial, *Davenport Gazette* (March 27, 1843), 2.

[3] Editorial, *Iowa Sun* (Davenport, April 11, 1840), 2.

[4] "The Impressions of a Stranger on Davenport," Letter to the Editor, *Davenport Gazette* (April 10, 1848), 2.

[5] Editorial, *Muscatine Journal* (June 30, 1849).

[6] Mary Jane Coogan, "The Growing Pains of the Young Community, 1853-1865," VI, *The Price of Our Heritage*, Vol. 1. (Dubuque: Mount Carmel Press, 1975), 317.

[7] Hortense Finch, "Grand Living Comes to a Pioneer Town," *Times-Democrat* (Davenport, February 13, 1969). Also Loren Nelson Horton, Town Planning,

Growth and Architecture in Selected Mississippi River Towns in Iowa, 1833-1860. (Unpublished Thesis, University of Iowa, May 1978), 224.

[8] Correspondence, Mary Jane Coogan to R.E. Belding, February 5, 1979.

[9] Franc B. Wilkie, *Davenport Past and Present* (Davenport: Luse, Lane and Co., 1858), 279.

[10] Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, *Memoirs, Historical and Edifying of a Missionary Apostolic* (Chicago: Hall Publishing Co., 1915), 193.

[11] Mary Jane Coogan, "History of the Immaculate Conception Academy of Davenport, Iowa and the Foundations of Catholic Education in That City," (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1941 unpublished thesis), 60.

[12] "For Young Ladies," *The Daily News* (Davenport, July 27, 1858), 1.

[13] Robert E. Belding, "Academies and Iowa's Frontier Life," *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. 44 #5 (Summer 1978), 335-358.

[14] Correspondence Mary Jane Coogan to R.E. Belding (February 5, 1979).

[15] "ICA Expansion Reflects Davenport's Growth," *Daily Times* (Davenport January 21, 1956).

[16] "Catholic School Moves to Rich Man's Castle," *Daily Democrat and News* (Davenport, October 17, 1974).

[17] Mary Jane Coogan (see Footnote #11, above), 62.

[18] Mary Swain Hoover, "Cane and Cotton Kingdoms," in Daniel J. Boorstin (editor), *Visiting Our Past: America's Historylands*. (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1977), 284.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., 286.

[21] Herbert T. Coleman, "The Status of Education in the South Prior to the War Between the States," *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. 15 #10 (October 1907), 444.

[22] Thomas Woody, "The Female Seminary," VIII, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, Vol. I, (New York: The Science Press, 1929), 398.

[23] Ibid., 380-381.

[24] Ibid., 329.

[25] *Report, Commissioner of Education* (Washington, D.C.: The Commissioner, 1872), 65.

[26] Herbert T. Coleman, op. cit., 444.

[27] Edward Mayes, *History of Education in Mississippi* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1899), 46.

[28] Clement Eaton, *A History of the Old South: The Emergence of a Reluctant*

Nation (New York: Macmillan, 1949), 522.

[29] Ibid., 85.

[30] Letter Julius Reed to Henry Watson (February 11, 1833).

[31] Clement Eaton, op. cit., 450.

[32] This thumb-nail review of major points in "The River War" has been drawn from James M. Darley, *Battlefields of the Civil War with Descriptive Notes*. (Washington, D.C.: Cartographic Division, National Geographic Society, 1962).

[33] "I.C.A. Expansion Reflects Davenport's Growth," *Daily Times* (Davenport: January 21, 1956).

[34] Sister Mary Jane Coogan (see footnote #11 above), 72.

[35] Correspondence Tim Daugherty to R.E. Belding, March 12, 1979.

[36] Direct descendent of the antebellum estate builders have assisted the author in confirming the Natchez-Davenport link through interviews and letters concerning their ancestral records; most direct help has come from John Shelby Marshall of RICHMOND, Mrs. William Godfrey of MOUNT REPOSE, Mrs. Singleton Gardner of LANSDOWNE, Lawrence Adams of OAKLAND and Mrs. Vincent Drake of THE ELMS.

[37] Correspondence Samuel Wilson (restoration architect of Wilson & Koch, New Orleans) to R.E. Belding, March 7, 1979.

[38] Ledger of Annual Admissions to ICA, Davenport, 5-9.

[39] Reverend G. Giglinger, "Official Record of Baptisms, First Communions, Confirmations, etc. Occurring in the Chapel of the Immaculate Conception Academy" (hand-written diary, 1865).

[40] On plantations strung between Baton Rouge and New Orleans these current owners have been most helpful in opening their ancestral records which yield evidences of War action on their estates as well as daughter attendance at ICA: Keith Marshall of MADEWOOD, Catherine Fondren Underwood of ROSEDOWN and Reverend and Mrs. James Savoy of JACKSON HALL.

[41] Ledger of Annual Admissions to ICA, 5ff.

[42] Franc B. Wilkie, op. cit., 294.

[43] *Catalog, Saint Francis Academy* (Council Bluffs: St. Francis Academy, 1895), 3.

[44] Mary Jane Coogan (see footnote #11, above), 99.

[45] Ibid., 94.

[46] Mary Pulcheria McGuire, "Annals of Father Donaghoe," (ms, n.d.), 173.

[47] Mary Jane Coogan (see footnote #11, above), 89.

[48] Dorris Clayton James, *Antebellum Natchez* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana University Press, 1968), 145.

[49] Mary Jane Coogan (see footnote # 11, above), 92.

[50] Robert E. Belding, op. cit., 336.

[51] Dr. F.W. VanDyke, "Higher Education as a Cause of Physical Decay in Women," *Medical Record*, Vol. 67 (February 1905), 296-298.

[52] Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1959), 73.

[53] Editorial, *Davenport Daily Democrat* (December 1, 1866).

[54] Correspondence, Mary Jane Coogan to R.E. Belding (February 5, 1979).

[55] "The Academy of the Immaculate Conception — The Character of the Curriculum," *Daily Democrat and Leader* (May 29, 1904), 2.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Mary Jane Coogan, *The Pride of Our Heritage*, II (Dubuque: Mount Carmel Press, 1978), 276.

[58] Mary Jane Coogan (see footnote # 11, above), 73.

[59] Harry G. Good, James D. Teller, *A History of Western Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1969, 3rd edition), 29.

[60] Molly Wallace, "Defense of Female Orators," *Female Academy of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: The Academy, 1972), 90-92.

[61] ICA Advertisement for Public Drama and Speech Contest, *Daily Democrat* (Davenport, December 1, 1866).

[62] Correspondence Mary Jane Coogan to R.E. Belding, February 5, 1979.

Detroit's First "Great School War:" The Politics of Common Schools in a Frontier City, 1836-1842

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In November of 1841, fresh from his triumph in the New York State election, Bishop John Hughes of New York City traveled to Detroit to participate in the consecration of Peter Paul LeFevre as co-adjutor of the Detroit diocese. Hughes' final, if pyrrhic, victory over the New York Public School Society was still five months away, but he had just demonstrated that a Catholic Bishop who can deliver 2,000 votes is a political force to be reckoned with. In Michigan's election of the same month, the balance of power had also swung sharply from the Whigs to the Democrats, and before New York's "first great school war" would come to an end, the Michigan legislature would have its hands full with its own "school war."

Despite the considerable scholarly attention devoted to the struggle between Bishop Hughes and the Public School Society, it remains a confused melange of ethnic, religious, class-based, and personalistic politics.[1] This is far less the fault of historians' ineptitude than of the fact that two quite different issues were juxtaposed in the one titanic battle. First, there was the classic issue of the politics of the common school movement, "what is the proper form of governance, organization, and finance for a workable system of common schools in America's swollen cities?" In the political climate of Jacksonian America the New York Public School Society was an anachronism, a private, self-perpetuating board operating public schools at public expense. It stood as an organizational monument to the failure of imagination and nerve shown by the New York State Legislature when it should have been clear that the "old district school" would not serve the needs of a rapidly changing city.[2] The second issue was the proposal by the Catholics to receive their "fair share" of the school funds, an idea which jarred the uneasy compromise which the Protestant sects were forming around the notion of a common Christianity. Due partly to the personality of Hughes, and partly to the heavy influx of Irish immigrants, New York was ahead of the nation on this issue, which would not arise in other cities for about a decade.

Sooner or later, these issues had to be faced by most of the cities of the West. Detroiters decided whether they would or would not have a system of common schools in 1842. In 1853, they decided whether or not they would accept the concept of "Catholic common schools." The very

separation of these two issues permits a more precise analysis of the political alignments of the common school movement than scholars have yet put forth by examining the New York case. This paper will limit itself to an analysis of the first of the two elections, the second being the subject of a forthcoming article in the *Michigan Academician*.

There exist six narrative accounts of the events leading up to and including the founding of Detroit's public school system in 1842. Of these, two were prepared by persons who were participants in the events,[3] two were written by competent local historians,[4] and two were published by scholars, the most recent in 1925.[5] All of these describe the issues and events in highly personalistic terms in which the heroes are duly recognized while the villains remain anonymous. None of these accounts mention the party affiliations of the participants, let alone provide the material for a systematic analysis. Nevertheless, they provide useful, if not always accurate, leads to the documentary evidence.

In contrast to these, there are three excellent studies of the political complexion of Detroit in the 1840's and '50's.[6] All of these were inspired by Lee Benson's seminal work, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy*,[7] and all of these sustain Benson's central thesis that the important differences which distinguished Whigs from Democrats in the age of Jackson were ethnic and religious, not those of occupation and wealth. The most ambitious of these is Ronald Formisano's *The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827-1861*. Formisano analyzed the Constitutional Convention of 1836 and all state and national election returns from southeastern Michigan from 1847 to 1852. Using multivariate analysis, he compared relative Democratic strength in each political unit to measures of each unit's ethnic and religious makeup, its wealth and its occupational distribution. His key conclusion was that "the classes-interpretation of Democrat and Whigs failed to pass muster in [southeastern] Michigan. . . ." Focusing on the political elite of Wayne County in 1844 rather than on the electorate, Lawrence Sabbath determined that the top 90 Whigs were distinguishable from the top 90 Democrats by virtue of their birthplace and their religion but not by virtue of their wealth and occupations. Finally, Alexandra McCoy studied the political affiliations of Wayne County's economic elite in 1844 and 1860 and found that ethno-religion was a stronger correlate of party than was wealth or economic role.

With such substantial previous work to build upon it should be relatively easy to identify the political alignments, and thus the social variables, at play in Detroit's first school war. Before we attempt to do this, it might be useful to briefly review what positions historians of education have argued concerning the politics of the common school movement. In the opening passages of *The Irony of Early School Reform*, Michael Katz identifies three broad points of view. The first "portrays a rational,

enlightened working class, led by idealistic humanitarian intellectuals, triumphantly wresting free public school education from a selfish, wealthy elite and from the bigoted proponents of orthodox religion." The second denies "that fundamental social controversy provided the dynamic of national development," and that "instead, . . . the apparently opposing sides in past controversies represent but variations of a consensus on fundamental principles."[8] The third position is the one which Katz claims as his own and which has formed the basic underpinning of revisionist works for a decade. In this view, the wealthy, whether mercantilist or capitalist, imposed common schools on the working class for purposes of social control and to serve their own interests. Opposition to the common schools is hard to locate only because their chief opponents, the working class, has had no "voice" in history. A variation of Katz's model by Robert Church stresses the political basis of the class conflict.[9] Church has suggested that, on the whole, Whigs supported common schools because they fit in so neatly with their scheme of "positive" liberalism, the use of the State to advance the welfare of all. Democrats opposed common schools because they saw them as encroachments on their personal liberties. Since Church also set forth a sort of "classes versus masses" description of Whigs and Democrats, his views turn out to be very close to those of Katz. We will put these views to the test as we turn to an analysis of Detroit's "school war."

The Collapse of the District System

From the creation of the Michigan Territory in 1805 to the attainment of Statehood in 1837 and even later, the establishment of schools was a sporadic and tenuous affair. A series of "permissive" school laws allowed citizens to create school districts and to tax themselves to build schools and hire teachers. These laws left much to the initiative of those who desired schools, and they seemed to work best in pockets of rural areas occupied by settlers of relatively homogenous background. Detroit had no district school until the Spring of 1827. It established a second school five years later, but though it already had a population of over 4,000 and was far and away the most populous town, it lagged behind Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor in its provision of public schooling.[10]

This situation was deplored by some of Detroit's citizens and their response was similar to that of some citizens of New York City twenty-five years earlier, they created a Free School Society. A notice published in December, 1833, gave evidence of their purpose:

> It cannot have escaped the observation of any citizen that in our midst are many children who are growing up not only in poverty, but in ignorance. The object of our society is to take these children and bring them under the culture and moral restraint of a school.[11]

By its own lights, the Society was quite successful. Its first school

enrolled 150 children and had an average daily attendance of 50. Within five years it had grown to three schools with a daily average of 200. But, unlike that of New York, Detroit's was a Ladies Free School Society. It raised its funds by sponsoring an annual Fair, and by selling tomato catsup. As the city's population doubled in the next decade and the problem of free schools became more pressing, the efforts of these women passed without notice.

Following upon its admission to Statehood in 1837, Michigan adopted a number of educational provisions which held promise of effectively promoting the free school enterprise. First, the education provisions of its constitution, written by two Democrats, Isaac Crary and John Pierce, established the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the first in the nation. The General School Law, written by Pierce and adopted in the same year lodged control of the sale and rental of "school lands" with the State Superintendent, rather than with the officers of the townships, thus creating a State Primary School Fund.

Despite these advantageous legal provisions, the establishment of free schools in Detroit languished. Table 1 shows that while significant gains in attendance rates were being made, sharp declines in the amounts received from the state's Primary School Fund laid the groundwork for the collapse of the system in 1841.

TABLE 1

Public School Statistics for Detroit: 1838-1841

Year	Children Between 5 & 17	Attending School		Amt. Rec'd. From State School Fund	Amount Per Child	# of Districts Holding School
		n	%	$	¢	
1838	2,097	507	24			5
1839	1,978	687	35	$1,342.08	64	6
1840	2,036	895	44	$ 854.00	42	8
1841	2,096	687	33	$ 473.93	23	6

In the school law of '37, district schools were to be supported from the primary school fund and a general property tax laid on at the township level. The use of rate bills was prohibited. The land boom of the 'thirties sustained this relatively generous system, but the panic and depression of 1837 set off a clamor in the legislature for readjustment of mortgages held on school lands and for general tax relief. The Democratic legislature of 1839 restored the rate bill and the Whig legislature of 1840 repealed the

school law entirely, leaving school finance in limbo.[12] After four years under this district system, only one of Detroit's eight districts owned a school house, two districts had failed to provide any school at all in 1841, and others had offered as little as three months.[13] When the Democrats regained legislative control in 1842, some of the leaders were determined to resurrect a system of school finance.[14]

A New Basis for Common Schools

The movement to establish a new system of common schools which began in the Autumn of 1841 was led by the city's Whig mayor, Dr. Zina Pitcher. His first move was to appoint a special committee of the Common Council to carry out a survey of the condition of education in the city. After a month of study this committee reported these salient facts; that out of 1,850 children of school age, 714 attended a total of 27 schools, public and private, at a total annual cost of $12,600, or an average of $18.[15] The private schools included one each in the French and German languages and were all quite small in numbers except the one connected with St. Anne's church which was said to "embrace nearly all the children of Catholic families" in the city.[16] The committee suggested that a well-designed system of common schools would educate all the children at no greater cost than was being spent to educate less than 40 percent of them. It recommended that "the Common Council petition the Legislature for power to raise money for schools by direct taxation and to provide for a Board of Education."[17]

By January 4, 1842, a proposal for a new school law was drawn up by Mayor Pitcher and the City Attorney, Cornelius O'Flynn.[18] A public meeting was called on January 12, 1842, to discuss the proposed petition to the legislature and the idea was "warmly endorsed." In the next few days, however, opposition began to develop on the part of "wealthy landowners," and, fearing that this group might try to block the passage of the legislation, the Common Council called a second citizen's meeting for February 7, by means of this notice:

FREE EDUCATION

> INTELLIGENCE for the poor equally with the rich. The friends of FREE EDUCATION and all others are invited to meet at the City Hall. INTELLIGENCE and LIBERTY must go hand in hand.
>
> MANY CITIZENS[19]

This second meeting also supported the proposed new school law, but the opponents then filed a remonstrance with the legislature. While they failed to stop passage of the bill, the wealthy landowners succeeded in reducing the proposed school tax from one quarter mill to one dollar for every child of school age (5-17). This compromise version passed the

Senate on February 10, and passed the House a week later, over the strenuous opposition of Democrat John Norvell, representative from Wayne County. The bill was signed into law on February 18.[20]

The opponents of free schools saw one last chance to have their way. With a city election scheduled for early March, they hoped to elect a Mayor and several council members who would refuse to implement the new law by simply not exercising the taxing powers given to them. The free school opponents controlled the Whig caucus meetings and the city convention, passing over the incumbent Mayor Zina Pitcher to nominate Theodore Williams, a 34-year-old merchant of modest means, on an anti-free school platform.[21] The Democrats, after six ballots, nominated Douglas Houghton, the young physician and geologist friend of Zina Pitcher, over John S. Bagg, editor of the *Free Press*. They solidly endorsed a complete slate of pro-free school men, including 12 nominees for the new Board of Education.[22]

The election was held on March 9, resulting in "the most brilliant Democratic victory that has ever been won at a City election."[23] The pro-free school forces won the Mayor's office by a 55% majority, carried five of the six wards, and elected 5 of 7 aldermen and 10 of 12 school inspectors. The Whig *Daily Advertiser* admitted to having been "decently flogged," but attempted to regain a bit of dignity with the claim that "when an occasion shall arise in which the Whigs are aroused to full effort, there will be found a Whig majority from fifty to one-hundred in the City of Detroit."[24] Within three months, the new Board of Education had collected its tax and opened six primary schools. The Detroit public school system was a reality.

We now turn to a detailed analysis of these events in search of answers to several questions concerning the politics of the common school movement. Is this a relatively simple case of pro-free school Democrats opposing the anti-free school Whigs? If so, are the Whigs rich and the Democrats poor? Or are the two parties only distinguishable on the basis of ethnicity and religion? And if so, do we see native-born Protestants hoping to impose schooling on the children of the foreign, and Catholic, rabble? Our analysis will focus in turn on: (a) the arguments of the leading participants; (b) the social backgrounds of the participants and; (c) the election outcome.

Arguments For & Against Free Schools

Every student of the history of education in America must become familiar with the litany of arguments for and against "educational progress" as presented by historians of an earlier time. The list put together by Frank Tracy Carlton serves as useful background for our discussion.

> The arguments for the free tax-supported schools or for educational advance, may be summarized under seven

heads. These are arranged approximately in the order of importance: (1) Education is necessary for the preservation of free institutions. (2) It prevents class differentiation. (3) Education tends to diminish crime. (4) It reduces the amount of poverty and distress. (5) It increases production. (6) Education is the natural right of all individuals. (7) Education will rectify false ideas as to unjust distribution of wealth. . . . The arguments against the above proposition may be arranged as follows: (1) Free Education for all increases taxation unduly. (2) Taxation for the purpose of maintaining free public schools is a violation of the rights of the individual. (3) A public system of schools was opposed by certain religious elements because of the possible injury to particular religious sects. (4) Certain non-English speaking people opposed the public schools because they feared that their own tongue would be supplanted by the English language. (5) Impractical legislation caused much opposition. (6) It was urged that education would not benefit the masses. (7) Injury to the private school was alleged. (8) Public education tends to break down social barriers.[25]

In Detroit's first school war, there were a number of contexts in which such arguments might appear. There was the Committee report to the Common Council, the debates which occurred at the two citizen's meetings, the debates in the legislature, the political campaigns of the two parties, and editorials and letters in the city's newspapers. Unfortunately, detailed information about the debates is not available. Official minutes of the proceedings of the legislature, the Common Council and the citizen's meetings are limited to actions taken, and the newspapers carried the barest description of the discussions which took place. We must limit ourselves to considering the arguments which we know were raised and admit the possibility that others, if not all, of the arguments in Carlton's list might also have been made.

In its report to the Common Council recommending the petitioning of the Legislature, the Special Committee on Free Schools voiced the following sentiments.

> Your committee are of the opinion that in a city with a population like ours, there is no sure method of securing general diffusion of knowledge among all classes of society, but by the adoption of a system of free schools under the control of the public authorities.
>
> The system commends itself to the committee particularly, on the ground of economy as well as from the happy influence they believe it will have upon our social and political condition. Here the offspring of the rich and poor, seated side by side, will drink in knowledge from the same fountains, and will learn to appreciate each other for their intrinsic values alone. No permanent and transmissible distinction in

> castes can ever be obtained where such a system exists and no nobility can ever be established but such as is based on intelligence and virtue.[26]

Here we find not only the classic appeal to egalitarianism, but also a clue as to how school supporters expected to induce those who could afford private schooling to send their children to the public schools, namely, "economy." This argument was made clearer in retrospect by the author of the Introductory Report of the Board of Education, who said

> In many parts of Massachusetts and Connecticut where public schools have been for several years in operation, they have triumphed over the private schools, and attained to that perfection and usefulness which has induced the most wealthy and better informed families to withdraw their children from the latter and place them in the former.[27]

This assessment has been borne out in Kaestle and Vinovskis' study of school attendance in Massachusetts which showed that much of the growth in public school enrollments after 1840 came at the expense of private school enrollments.[28]

A rather different set of arguments appeared after the citizen's meeting of January 12, in a letter to the *Daily Advertiser*, signed by "A.B.C." The writer had heard that a number of wealthy landowners were organizing in opposition to the free school proposals, and he wrote to explain that they did not understand their own best interests.

> It is the interest of the rich that the city should increase in business and population. Now one of the strongest inducements for industrious people to settle here, will be the opportunity for educating their children. Merchants, especially, will prepare a place where the benefits of education can be secured in a superior degree. Again, education is one of the best preventives of crime. . . . Education greatly diminishes the number of (paupers), because those who have received its benefits are generally more industrious, temperate and economical. Finally, the reputation of a city depends mainly upon the intelligence and virtue of its citizens. Both will be elevated and extended by a good system of common schools. Why are the rich hostile to its establishment? Are they not, in fact, making war upon their own best interest?[29]

Here, several more of the arguments on Carlton's list are brought forward. The idea that the availability of schools makes an area more attractive to settlers and makes the land more valuable, is the frontier's analogue to the Easterner's argument that schooling raises productivity. The ideas that schooling reduces crime and pauperism and elevates the intelligence and virtue of citizens were also made apparently to appeal to the wealthy.

Opposition arguments began to emerge with a letter to the Whig paper on January 24, signed "X." The writer argued that the city was already too far in debt and "to attempt to levy more taxes for new schemes would be nearly equivalent to repudiating the city's debts.[30] "X" presented figures to bear out his contention, and in truth the Common Council had, a few days before, heard a report that it could not make the payments due on some city bonds.[31] Nonetheless, "A Freeman" rebutted the letter a few days later with a different set of figures.[32] At the citizen's meeting of February 7, a meeting called for the purpose of winning some "wealthy landowners to the side of free schools," the argument was presented that "a school tax is the cheapest insurance that could be put upon property, and that if the school tax was omitted, then the jail tax and the criminal court costs must take its place."[33] In the Legislature, the only vocal opposition was that of John Norvell, who argued against the increase in taxes. He moved to strike the sections of the bill authorizing the tax and when that lost he moved to submit the tax increase to a vote of the people, again losing. In answer to Mr. Norvell, Mr. Howell suggested that if education were neglected Detroit would be a city of mobs. Mr. Wilson argued that, contrary to Mr. Norvell's logic, taxes would be reduced in the long run.[34]

No new arguments, pro or con, were introduced in the city election campaign. After the election, the Whig Advertiser, which had not backed the party's anti-free school stance, indicated that the issue had been one of "high taxes."[35] What is most significant in this review of the various arguments is that while at least five and perhaps six of Carlton's arguments *for* common schools were echoed in Detroit, only the first of his opposing arguments is known to have been raised there, and this is not an argument against free education *in principle* but only one relating to appropriate levels of taxation. Of course arguments may have been raised against the free school proposal by Catholics and/or Germans as such, but we know of none, whereas we do know of Catholics and Germans who publicly supported the idea.[36] Furthermore, judging by the vehemence with which the Whig paper attacked the Catholics a few years later, had they raised systematic opposition it would not have passed without notice. It appears that in Detroit the concept of free schools had little *articulated* opposition, except as an increase in taxation.

The Participants

We turn our attention now to the individuals who participated in Detroit's first school war and whose names are known to us. It has been possible, by carefully sifting through all sources, to identify sixty-five men who had some hand in the affair, the great majority of them officeholders. In the sketches and analyses which follow we have relied on a broad array of sources. Most useful were several volumes of Michigan biographies. Systematic data on these men were obtained from

both the 1840 and 1850 Federal Census manuscripts, as well as the 1841 Wayne County tax roll, Detroit Directories of 1838 and 1845, and a number of church records. Isolated bits of information were gleaned from published personal reminiscences. Finally, the works mentioned above by Formisano, McCoy, and Sabbath were also quite helpful sources.

As we consider the backgrounds of these men it is instructive to keep in mind some of the claims that have been made by historians. Church has suggested that free schoolmen were mostly Whigs and that "more often than not Whig legislatures passed common school laws and Democrats formed the most vocal opposition. . . ."[37] As we have already seen, the situation in Michigan appears to be exactly the reverse of this. In another passage, Church describes the Whig leadership as representing "the upper and middle classes, industrialists, large bankers, large farmers who sought internal improvements. . . ."[38] In contrast, Formisano did not sustain this for Michigan. He says,

> The classes-interpretation of Democrats and Whigs failed to pass muster in Wayne, Washtenaw, Oakland, and Hillsdale counties, and, as far as could be determined, in all of Michigan as well. Similar socio-economic groups supported both parties.[39]

Formisano's own view is that "political conflicts in Michigan, 1837-1852, were to a significant degree the formal expression of conflicts between subcultures. . . ."[40] A key issue before us is whether these characterizations extend to school politics as well.

At the time Detroit's Common Council appointed a special committee to study the "school problem," no recorded vote was taken. Though the Democrats held a seven to six majority, we have no evidence of what individual aldermen thought about free schools until a vote was taken on January 18 to form a committee to draft the proposed legislation. The only alderman voting "no" was Alva Ewers; aldermen Charles Moran and Chauncy Hurlbut were absent.[41] Moran had earlier served on the special committee which unanimously recommended new legislation. Hurlbut was later characterized as among the opponents of free schools. Both Ewers and Hurlbut were prominent Whigs, active since the party's founding in 1836. Both were officers of the Detroit Mechanic's Society, which had operated a day school for the children of its members since 1835.[42] Hurlbut was a merchant, holding $5,000 in real property. Ewers was a copper, but held property worth over $6,000 in '42, and was referred to in the '50's as a "wealthy landowner." Both men were Presbyterians and New Englanders.

Those aldermen voting in favor of the free school proposal included Detroit's tenth and seventeenth wealthiest citizens, both Democrats, as well as four men owning less than $500 in property, three of whom were Whigs. The group included 3 merchants, 2 physicians, an attorney, and

five skilled artisans. Two were foreign born, an Englishman and a German, and five were born in Eastern states. The three who were Detroit-born were all French and were the only Catholics on the Council, all Democrats.

Only eight individuals are mentioned in the existing accounts of the first citizen's meeting.[43] Four of these, including Mayor Pitcher, are clearly supporters of Free Schools, two appear to be opponents and two cannot be characterized with certainty. The *Advertiser* reported that the two who spoke against the Free School proposal were John Farmer, a private schoolmaster and later a member of the Board of Education, and General John R. Williams, one of Detroit's richest and most powerful citizens, having already served three terms as the city's Mayor. Williams was a Roman Catholic, as were the other two identifiable participants, Father Kundig and A.T. McReynolds, attorney. There is a hint here of the possibility of Catholic opposition; yet Wilkin's "reminiscence" has Father Kundig "calling the meeting" with Dr. Pitcher and describes him as "an influential and estimable Catholic priest."[44] Moehlman's account (more plausibly) places Fr. Kundig at the later citizen's meeting and describes him as a "warm supporter."[45] We do know with certainty that he was at this time a member of the Board of Trustees of The University of Michigan, a fact which alone makes it unlikely that he would have opposed free schools. McReynolds was something of a rarity, a Catholic Whig, and while we do not know for certain his stand on the question, even if he opposed the free school proposal he could well have done so as a Whig rather than as a Catholic.

Virtually no information is available concerning the meeting of February 7, beyond the facts that opposition was strong on the part of unnamed "wealthy landowners," and that though many doubtful ones were won over, opposition remained bitter.[46] Information concerning the debate in the Legislature between February 10 and 18 is almost as sparse. Key issues of the official state paper, the *Daily Free Press*, are missing. The *Advertiser* reported that the Senate Bill passed without recorded vote on February 10.[47] Two days later the Education Committee of the House reported favorably on the bill, though now it was spoken of as a "compromise" bill in which the authorized tax had been reduced to a dollar for every school-age child, a tax already permitted under Michigan law.[48] When the bill came up for debate in the House, all the vocal opposition came from John Norvell, Democrat from Hamtramck.

John Norvell, born in 1789 in Kentucky, had been a powerful figure in the Democratic party since arriving in Detroit in 1832 as Jackson's appointee as postmaster. Floyd Streeter, the first historian of Michigan politics, described Norvell as the leader of the "radical" faction of the party and his followers as "lawyers, small farmers, and politicians supported by the poor and uneducated class in the rural districts . . . and by the laborers and foreigners in the cities and towns."[49] This faction was

said to control the party from 1835 to 1839, the period of the drafting of the first constitution. Formisano's analysis of the Constitutional Convention of 1835, indicates that Norvell was indeed a powerful figure, but that economic issues "barely threw off a spark of conflict."[50] The issue that did produce sharp political cleavage was that of alien voting.[51] The Wayne County delegation strongly supported extending the franchise to all white, adult males who resided in the state at least six months. John Norvell chaired the suffrage committee and his strongest supporters were John R. Williams and Alpheus White, an Irish Catholic.[52] Whigs provided the most vitriolic opposition, but they were joined by a large block of Democrats. In the end the final article was a compromise forged by the two factions of the Democratic party while the Whigs sputtered on the sidelines.

By the time Detroit's school question came before the Legislature in 1842, the Norvell-Williams-White faction of the Democratic party was still recognizable, though much reduced in influence. At least two secondary accounts cite John R. Williams as the author of the compromise version of the bill, even though he was not a member of the Legislature. While Norvell opposed the bill and both he and White apparently voted against it, their top priority in the '42 session was a debt-exemption bill designed to protect the homes and tools of working men from confiscation for debt, a measure which the Whigs did not vigorously oppose.

As the conflict finally shifted to the arena of the March city-wide election, more identifiable opponents emerged. Chief among them was the Whig candidate for Mayor, Theodore Williams, son of the rich and powerful Democrat, John R. Williams. Though father and son disagreed on their choice of party (and religion) they appear to have come together on the school question. Because this was the only issue in the election, we can, by reasonable inference, add to the list of opponents the Whig candidates for seats on the Common Council, a total of eight men. Skating on thinner ice, we further add nine of the twelve Whig candidates for the new Board of Education. In the case of the other three, evidence suggests they favored free schools.[53] This makes a total of twenty-one individuals identifiable by name who seem to have been in opposition to the free school proposal. On the side of the proponents we have forty-four.

From the sources mentioned earlier, data was collected on the sixty-five individuals to represent seven variables; age, education, religion, birthplace, number of school-age children, occupation, and wealth. The data was analyzed using Multiple Classification Analysis, a program developed at the Institute for Social Research for carrying out multiple regression when the dependent variable is integral or dichotomous and the predictor variables are categorical. The technique examines 'the interrelationships between several predictor variables and a dependent variable within the context of an additive model."[54] It is particularly

designed to handle "weak measurement on the predictor variables, correlated predictors, and non-linear relationships."[55]

The statistical output of our MCA run is presented here in two tables. The first, Table 2, indicates the *relative* importance of each variable in predicting the outcome variable, the Eta^2 representing this when each variable is considered alone and the Beta value representing it while controlling for all the other variables in the model. Note that the variable, number of children of school-age, was dropped when initial MCA runs showed its predictive value to be negligible. The R^2 value indicates that more than half of the total variance is accounted for by our six variable model. In this table, occupation and age emerge as the strongest predictors. Birthplace and religion the weakest. Education and wealth are modestly related to the dependent variable. To get a better understanding of just how these predictors are related to the free school issue, we turn to the second of our tables.

In Table 3, the M.C.A. output consists of the unadjusted class mean for each level of each predictor variable, the adjusted mean, i.e., the mean for each class when the effects of the other variables are "held constant," and the net deviation, the difference between the grand mean and the adjusted class mean. In interpreting Table 3, it is important to keep in mind that for our dependent variable, support for free schools was coded as a 1 and opposition was coded as a 2. The grand mean for the sixty-five subjects is 1.34, and the standard deviation is 0.477. Thus, an adjusted or unadjusted class mean *below* 1.34 indicates a trend for that class to support free schools to a greater degree than the total group and vice versa. Now we can see that the relationship between age and support for free schools is not a linear one, with both the 21-30 and the 41-50 age groups supporting and the other two groups opposing. The relationship of the dependent variable to education is also non-linear, though those at the lowest level seem clearly to have opposed.

TABLE 2

Support for or Opposition to Free Schools, Detroit, 1842: ETA^{2}S, BETAS, and R^2S

Predictor Variable	ETA^2	BETA
Age	.112	.577
Wealth	.027	.379
Occupation	.118	.766
Education	.047	.454
Birthplace	.026	.230
Religion	.010	.213
R^2 (Unadjusted) = 0.511	R^2 (Adjusted) = 0.304	

TABLE 3

Support for or Opposition to Free Schools, Detroit, 1842: Class Means, Adjusted Means, & Net Deviations

Predictor Variable	Number of Cases	Class Mean	Adjusted Mean	Net Deviation
Age Group				
21-30	8	1.00	0.73	− .61
31-40	28	1.39	1.55	+ .21
41-50	13	1.23	1.29	− .05
Over 50	9	1.56	1.48	+ .14
Unknown	7	1.43	1.11	− .23
Wealth Group				
0-500	14	1.29	1.43	+ .09
501-1,000	10	1.30	1.05	− .29
1,001-10,000	26	1.38	1.39	+ .04
Over 10,000	9	1.44	1.56	+ .22
Unknown	6	1.67	1.02	− .32
Occupation				
Landowner	6	1.33	1.26	− .08
Professional	22	1.18	1.11	− .23
Merchant	17	1.47	1.65	+ .31
Artisan	18	1.33	1.67	+ .33
Unknown	2	2.00	2.94	+ 1.60
Education				
Common School	18	1.50	1.61	+ .27
Academy or Law	13	1.31	1.34	0
College	13	1.23	1.41	+ .07
Unknown	21	1.29	1.06	− .28
Birthplace				
United States	47	1.32	1.27	− .07
Foreign	13	1.31	1.42	+ .08
Unknown	5	1.60	1.26	− .08
Religion				
Protestant	38	1.34	1.41	+ .07
Catholic	12	1.25	1.17	− .17
Unknown	15	1.40	1.27	− .07
TOTAL:	65	1.34		

Table 2 showed that occupation was the strongest predictor variable. In Table 3, we can see that support for free schools was strong among professionals and skilled artisans, while opposition was strongest not among landowners, as all anecdotal accounts suggested, but among merchants. Wealth, as indicated earlier, was not a strong predictor, with three of the four wealth classes opposing schools to a degree. Catholics supported free schools more than Protestants and the native-born supported them more than the foreign-born. Neither of these were powerful predictors, however.

In interpreting these findings several points should be kept in mind. First they apply only to those who took public positions on this issue. Second, the procedure for identifying the opponents of free schools was necessarily not very rigorous, and efforts were made to magnify the opposition in cases which were not clear cut. While this is an appropriate device to allow statistical analysis of the relative importance of particular variables, it tends to mask the one interpretation of the episode which appears to us the most likely, the consensualist position.

Before we leave the question of the backgrounds of the leaders in this affair, it is instructive to focus once more on John R. Williams as a caution to those who would apply simplistic thinking to the politics of the common school movement. We have identified Williams as an opponent of free schools in Detroit's school war. He was also a native-born Catholic, an ex-Indian fighter, a wealthy landowner, a leader in a struggle for alien voting rights, an opponent of voting rights for blacks, a founder of segregated schooling in Detroit, a defender of the interests of the "poor" as he saw them, and, according to one account, "always in opposition to any increase in the tax levy." Any one or all of these characteristics might account for his position, though he shared each one, except perhaps the last, with others who supported free schools. There is simply no sure way to link his opposition to any of these characteristics.

The Popular Referendum

We have suggested that, because only a single issue was involved, the Detroit Charter Election of 1842 can be taken as a popular referendum on Free Schools. Yet, any analysis of this election outcome must take account of what was then a relatively new phenomenon in American politics, party loyalty. Formisano's study showed that Michigan's mass parties were formed by 1836, and that party loyalty was quite strong in the 1837-1852 period.[56] This was somewhat less true in Detroit's wards which had a more mobile, shifting population and in the Whig party which was very much an anti-party party prior to 1837.[57] Nevertheless, the Whigs won the Mayor's office in every election from 1836 to 1841. That's why the victory of the Democrat Houghton so elated the editor of the *Free Press*, and also why this election must be considered first from

the viewpoint of party loyalty.

Table 4 shows the actual vote and the percent attained by the Mayoral candidates of the parties in three consecutive elections. It is tempting to conclude that the 215 independent voters of 1841 merely swung to the Democrats in 1842 and to the Whigs in 1843. This would be far too simplistic. In '41 and '43, the Whig Pitcher was victorious over the Democrat Witherell. The Independents in '41 were a splinter group within the Whig party, who were referred to in the press as the Young Men's Party. The Whigs managed to survive this split, still forging a 100 vote margin. In 1843, the *Free Press* editor attributed Pitcher's victory not to the healing of a rift across age lines, but to the defection of the Irish and to the warm reception which Dr. Pitcher had given to ex-President Van Buren in 1842.[58] The *Advertiser* elaborated by reporting that the Democrats had promised the nomination of Hugh O'Bierne to a high city office but had failed to pay off. The city's leading Irish politicians met a few days before the election and resolved to throw their support to Pitcher.[59] The problem with this contemporaneous analysis is clear. If the Irish voted Whig in '43, they must have voted either Whig or "Young Men's" in '41, since the Democratic vote was almost identical in the two elections; yet, no mention was made of any such thing in '41. In any case, two defections in three years suggests that party loyalty was not very strong, at least in these municipal elections. Further evidence is found in the amount of ticket-splitting. Though the Whigs had a virtual lock-hold on the Mayor's office, control of the Common Council was often more evenly split between the two parties. On the strength of this somewhat tenuous argument, the Democratic victory in 1842 appears as a popular mandate for free schools, and one which was apparently endorsed by the "young men" and the Irish.

TABLE 4

Returns by Party in Mayoral Elections: Detroit, 1841, 1842, 1843

Party	YEAR					
	1841		1842		1843	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Democratic	484	38	624	55	479	38
Whig	587	46	507	45	793	62
Independent	215	17				
TOTALS:	1286	101	1131	100	1272	100

We can take a somewhat closer look at this by considering the returns by ward. Table 5 indicates the percent carried by each party in each ward for '41 and '42. The '43 result indicates the party of the aldermanic

winner in each ward. The last column, derived from Formisano, indicates the average Democratic percentage for each ward in all the state and federal elections from 1844 to 1852. It should be obvious how difficult it is to interpret the result in '42. Ward 1 was the only ward captured by the Whigs, indicating strong opposition to the Free School candidates; yet, the amount of swing *away* from the Whig vote of 1841 suggests that more voters may have been favorably persuaded by the Free School argument than in any other ward. Ward 2 in contrast, gave the victory to the Democrats by a few votes, but the Whigs actually gained strength relative to '41.

TABLE 5

Election Returns By Wards: Detroit, 1841, 1842, 1843, and 1844-1852

Ward	1841 Whigs	1841 Dem.	1841 Ind.	1842 Whigs	1842 Dem.	1843	1844-1852[1] Dem. Ave.
	%	%	%	%	%	Party	%
1	78	14	8	53	47	D	60
2	46	24	40	50	50	F	55
3	48	38	14	44	56	W	54
4	32	60	8	35	65	D	65
5	35	47	18	46	54	D	53
6	34	58	8	36	64	D	52
7[3]							58
8[4]							75

[1] Derived from Formisano, Table 36, p. 383.

[2] This Independent candidate represented the defection of the Irish.

[3] Ward seven was created out of ward four in 1848.

[4] Ward eight was created out of ward one in 1849.

Our problem is further complicated by the dearth of systematic data on Detroit's wards in the 1840's. Aside from some population counts by sex,

race, and age group, and some wealth measures which we have been able to generate from the tax assessment rolls, there is no reliable way to characterize the wards. A rare ethno-religious census of the city taken in 1853 by the publisher of the city directory[60] established clearly that the French and German populations were concentrated on the East side in wards 3, 4, and 6, the Irish were on the West side in wards 1, 2, and 5, with other groups being quite dispersed (Figure 1). There is some evidence that this pattern had begun to take shape in the 1840's. The five German churches were located in wards 3, 4, and 6. The French Catholic Church, St. Anne's, was located in the second ward, but when the Cathedral was built with French money, it was located in the fourth ward, the location also of the French Methodist Episcopal Church. The only Irish congregation was Holy Trinity, built on the far west side. The large protestant congregations, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, were all located within a few blocks of the Campus Martius, the downtown center in wards 1, 2, or 3. Yet, not too much stock can be placed in the locations of these churches. An 1840 map of the residences of the pew holders of Holy Trinity Church showed them to be scattered in all six wards of the city.[61]

Table 6 presents an attempt to portray the wards on the basis of the wealth represented by the "average" male of voting age. Early in this century, Dixon Ryan Fox based his interpretation of New York's Jacksonians on a comparison of the voting records of each ward with its wealth per capita. A half-century later, this technique was attacked for its failure to take account of the difference between commercial and residential wards and for failing to actually link the ownership of the wealth of a ward to its residents. This table not only attempts to meet these objections but shows how fallacious Fox's procedure really was. In the first three columns the assessed valuation of real property and the value per capita is presented for each ward. Note what the rank order of the wards would be if this were the figure to be considered. The next column presents an adjusted assessed valuation, calculated by subtracting from each ward's total the portion represented by very wealthy taxpayers. These were operationally defined as persons owning five or more separate parcels with a combined value of at least $2,000, or those who met these qualifications in some other ward. This procedure was not followed for the second ward, a densely populated commercial and manufacturing area containing many hotels and boarding houses as well as large and stately homes. Here the *average* value per parcel was nearly $2,000. With the removal of less than 30 taxpayers from the rolls, along with the value of the property they controlled, some 25%, we are left with two groups, non-taxpayers, and middling taxpayers. The last two columns of Table 6 show the percent of males over 21 who are *not* found on the tax rolls and the average value of real property for the number of adult males who are on the tax rolls after our adjustment.

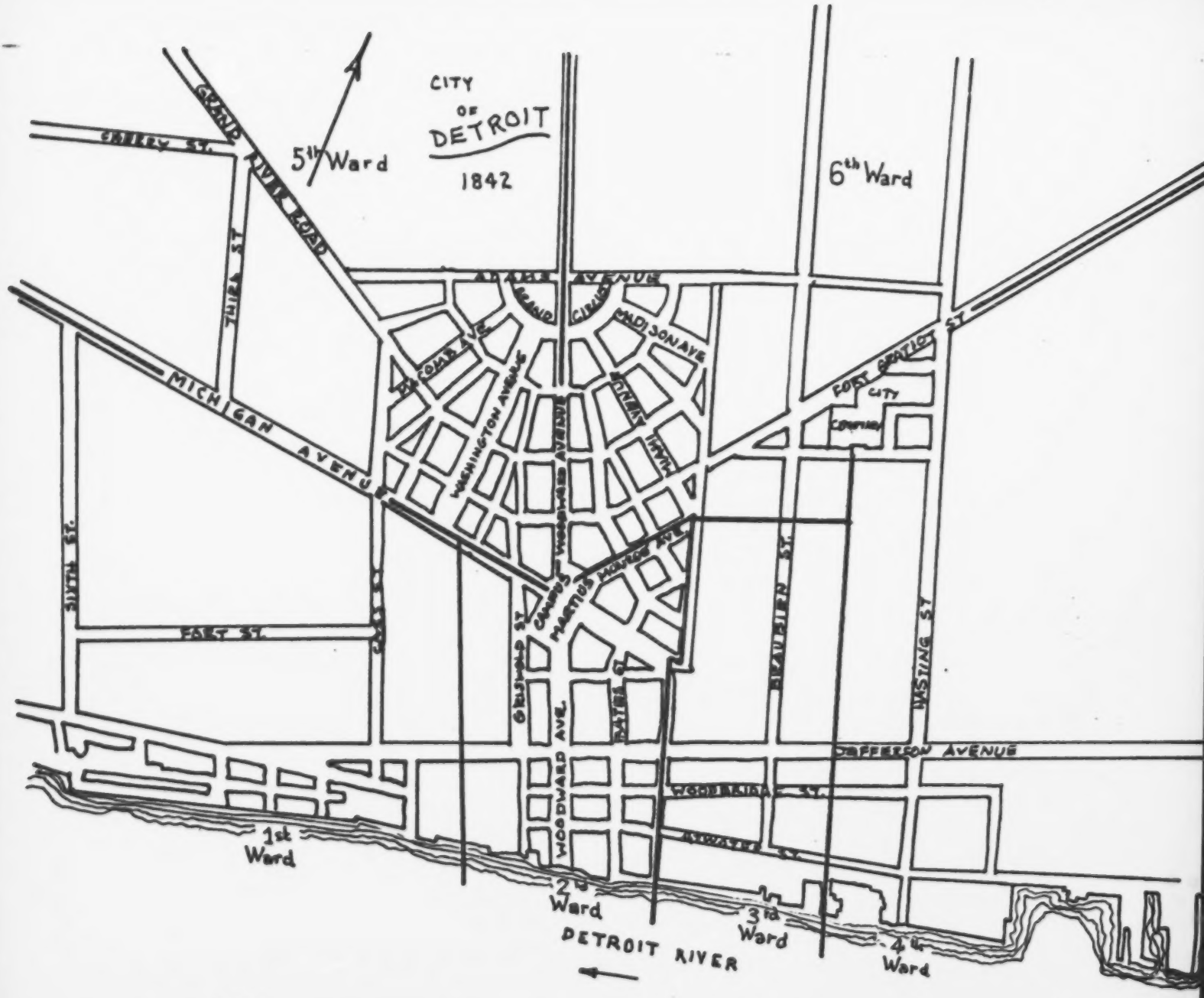
CITY
OF
DETROIT
1842
5th Ward
6th Ward
GRAND RIVER ROAD
CHERRY ST.
THIRD ST.
MICHIGAN AVENUE
SIXTH ST.
FORT ST.
ADAMS AVENUE
GRAND CIRCUS
MADISON AVE
FORT GRATIOT ST
CITY COUNTING
WASHINGTON AVENUE
CAMPUS MARTIUS
WOODWARD AVE.
GRISWOLD ST.
BATES ST.
BEAUBIEN ST.
WESTING ST.
JEFFERSON AVENUE
WOODBRIDGE ST.
ATWATER ST.
1st Ward
2d Ward
3rd Ward
4th Ward
DETROIT RIVER

TABLE 6

Measures of the Wealth in Real Property of Detroit's Wards, 1843

Ward	Assessed Valuation[1]	Adult Males[2]	Value Per Adult Male	Adjusted Assessed Valuation	Adjusted Male Non-Taxpayers		Average Value Per Taxpayer
	$	n	$	$	n	%	$
1	387,552	463	707	153,190	255	55	778
2	782,681	657	1191		453	69	3837
3	258,657	472	548	228,725	250	53	1054
4	268,811	544	494	241,141	166	31	650
5	98,533	200	492	82,633	138	69	1425
6	147,384	377	391	128,256	84	27	448

[1] Wayne County Archives, *Tax Assessment Rolls*, 1843, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

[2] From an 1844 census appearing in Wellings, *Detroit Directory and Business Advertiser*, 1845.

Now we can see a different picture emerge. It is possible to use these figures to fairly accurately portray the wealth of each ward. The second ward represents the highest wealth per capita, no matter how this is calculated, but nearly 70% of its residents own no property at all. Disparities in wealth among second ward residents are very great indeed! The fifth ward, an area of small houses, platted acreage and farms with virtually no commercial property, presents an interesting contrast. It is lowest in valuation and next to lowest in per capita value, but because it was an area of rather intense speculation, nearly 70% of its male residents were non-taxpayers, producing the second highest per taxpayer value, even with the four richest speculators eliminated. Wards 4 and 6 appear quite similar. They seem to be largely residential with small owner-occupied homes of modest value. Of the twenty-five richest men, none lived in the sixth ward and only three lived in the fourth. As suggested above, a large share of the residents of these two wards were probably French and German.

Wards one and three share on their eastern and western edges, respectively, the intense commercial activity of ward 2. They present a picture of mixed residential and commercial land use and fall in the middle with respect to both non-taxpayer ratio and average value per taxpayer. Ward three appears the richer of these two, but the figures also show that 60% of the wealth of ward one was controlled by 11 wealthy men, 7 of whom lived in the ward.

What can these figures tell us about the relationship of wealth to voters' attitudes about free schools? Unfortunately very little. On the one side, the two wards which gave the strongest endorsement to the free school candidates, four and six, are here characterized as "common man" wards; a very high percentage of taxpayers with a low average value per taxpayer. Wards two and five, very different in their economic geography but similar in their wealth distribution pattern, represent the two wards in which the Whigs made their greatest gain over the preceding election. Ward one was in process of sharp transition from a rock-solid Whig stronghold to a swing ward as it became more and more a "reception center" for the Irish immigrants of the 'forties.

On the other side, it must be stressed how tenuous this construction of things really is. Because the voter turnout in this election was around 45%, it is theoretically possible that every vote in every ward, either *for* or *against* free schools, could have been cast by a non-taxpayer. No extreme interpretation is ruled out by the numbers. This is also true for any other paired variable, such as Catholic/Protestant or Native-born/Foreign-born.

We can summarize the results of this part of our investigation by calling attention to the fact that in all wards, support for Democrats as free-school candidates was higher than it had been for Democrats as Democrats. What little evidence we have suggests that support for the free school concept came from all segments of Detroit's richly variegated community, except perhaps its merchants. What's more, in the school war the Democrats found an issue which not only brought them their first major city-wide victory but that catapulted them into a position of dominance which they seldom relinquished after 1842.

Conclusions

A study of this kind is perhaps more satisfying when sharp differences between groups appear, when conflicts are razor sharp, and ideological distinctions fall neatly into place. This has not been the case with our examination of the politics of common schools in early Detroit. The city's first school war seems to have been just a skirmish, though the early *Reports* of the Board of Education stressed how much opposition there had been to the idea. At this point in time, the consensualist view appears the most plausible. No major group, definable in terms of wealth, class, ethnicity, religion, or place of origin, emerged to challenge and oppose the *principle* of free schools for the city. Impressionistic evidence on both the identifiable participants in the debates and on the election outcome points to opposition on the part of some merchants and some of the wealthier citizens. For them, the issue might well have been seen in the light in which the debates cast it, as an investment decision; school taxes versus a tax for poorhouses and prisons, higher taxes for higher land

values. Different men simply made different calculations of their own self-interest.

On the other hand, showing the absence of clear and readily definable group differences on an issue so central to educational history serves a useful negative function. It challenges facile, oversimple, and overstated constructions of the past, of which educational history currently abounds. Class, religion, ethnicity, race, altruism, selfishness, independence, and slavishness were intermingled in the political behaviors of early nineteenth century men in ways we are still far from understanding.

Postscript

Did the public schools flourish following Detroit's "first school war"? Table 7 is compiled from the annual reports and it suggests that school attendance rates more than kept pace with the growth of the city. Schools were built, teachers were hired, and despite the refusal to pay the new school tax by some of the "large landowners" the system was on a workable financial basis. But the full extent of the expansion of schooling in Detroit is not revealed by this table, nor is there any hint here of the consummate skill of the Board of Education in caging donated buildings.

The Board announced the opening of its first four schools on April 3, 1842, less than a month after its own beginnings. In July it opened two more, and every ward had its free school. The real change, though, was that schools were open year-round! The teaching was organized into four three-month terms. Children, roughly age-graded into primary and middle schools, could attend all four terms or for any portion of them. Required by law to report attendance figures annually, the Board struggled to determine just how many of Detroit's children found their way into one of the free schools for at least a term. The figures reported in Table 7 are quarterly averages, but beginning in 1845, the Board began to report as well the total number of different children enrolled during each year. These figures reached 80% of the school census.

However uncertain may have been the official attendance figures, there can be no doubt about the Board's ability to expand its capital holdings. When Lansing was chosen as the new State Capitol and the old Capitol Building was abandoned, the Board applied for and were granted clear title to the building. It became the first Union School, enrolling over 400 students. When the University of Michigan gave up its original building in Detroit to establish its central campus in Ann Arbor, the Board took possession of the building. Despite several years of squabbling over the title, it eventually became the Third Union School.

Would it also be appropriate to ask if crime were kept in check? If poverty were ameliorated? If this city's fine public schools attracted a "better class" of settlers? To place these questions in perspective, it is important to note that within the first year of its existence the Detroit

Board established a separate school for black children in the basement of a black church and hired its minister as their teacher at a salary even lower than what it paid to its women teachers. If patterns were being set for future generations, it is important to see these patterns in their totality.

TABLE 7

Public School Statistics for Detroit: 1843-1846

Year	Children Between 5 & 17	Attending School		Total Income[1]	Amount Per Child	Number of Schools
	n	n	%	$	$	
1843	3526	1093	31	3682	1.04	13
1844	3312	1132	34	3832	1.16	10
1845	3146	1407	45	3092	.98	12
1846	3506	1453	41	4120	1.18	12

[1] Includes amount received from State school fund and amount received from the $1.00 per child property tax.

Notes

[1] Austin Flynn, "The School Controversy in New York, 1840-42, and its Effect on the Formulation of Catholic Elementary School Policy." Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Notre Dame, 1962; Vincent P. Lannie, *Public Money and Parochial Education* (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1968). Diane Ravitch, *The Great School Wars: New York City, 1805-1973* (New York: Basic Books, 1974).

[2] Despite Michael Katz's effort to make the New York Free School Society appear to be an "alternative structure" in *Class, Bureaucracy & Schools* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), to be contrasted with "incipient bureaucracy," among others, it seems clear that it was at most an alternative form of governance and no less "bureaucratic" than the arrangements found in other cities. In fact, while both Katz and Ravitch emphasize that the society, at its founding, was made up of the city's (presumably economic) elite, no data is pesented to characterize its makeup in the 1840's or to indicate how it might have differed in this respect from elected boards in other cities.

[3] D. Bethune Duffield, "Sketch of the Public Schools of the City of Detroit," in Michigan, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1851, pp. 296-306. William D. Wilkins, "Traditions and Reminiscences of the Public Schools of Detroit," *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, I: 448-461.

[4] Silar Farmer, History of Detroit and Wayne County (Detroit: Silas Farmer &

Co., 1890), Clarence Burton, *The City of Detroit, Michigan, 1701-1922* (Detroit: J.J. Clarke, 1922).

[5] Sister Mary Rosalita, *Education in Detroit Prior to 1850* (Lansing, Michigan Historical Commission, 1928), Chpt. X; Arthur B. Moehlman, *Public Education in Detroit* (Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Co., 1925), Chpts. VII, VIII.

[6] Ronald P. Formisano, "Social Bases of American Voting Behavior; Wayne County, Michigan, 1837-1852, As A Test Case," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Wayne State University, 1966), later published as *The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827-1861* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971); Lawrence Sabbath, "Analyses of the Political Leadership in Wayne County, Michigan, 1844 (M.A. Thesis, Wayne State University, 1965); Alexandra McCoy, "Political Affiliations of American Economic Elites: Wayne County, Michigan, 1844, 1860, As A Test Case" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Wayne State University, 1965).

[7] Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

[8] Michael Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), pp. 1-5.

[9] Robert Church and Michael Sedlak, *Education in the United States* (New York: The Free Press, 1976), Chpt. 3.

[10] Wilkins, p. 454.

[11] Farmer, p. 735.

[12] George L. Jackson, *The Development of State Control of Public Instruction in Michigan* (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1926), pp. 44-45.

[13] Farmer, p. 735.

[14] Both the message of Democrat Governor John S. Barry and the general report of the House Education Committee, written by Democrat C.B.H. Feesenden, stressed the need for a new system of taxation. See the *Documents Accompanying the Journal of the House of Representatives, Michigan*, 1842, No. 15.

[15] Farmer, p. 735.

[16] Wilkins, p. 454.

[17] Farmer, p. 739.

[18] Moehlman, p. 76.

[19] Farmer, p. 740.

[20] Detroit *Daily Advertiser*, February 20, 1842, p. 2: 3.

[21] *Advertiser*, March 1, p. 2: 1.

[22] Detroit *Daily Free Press*, March 1, 1842, p. 2: 4.

[23] *Free Press*, March 10, p. 2: 1.

[34] *Advertiser*, March 9, p. 2: 3, and March 10, p. 2: 1.

[35] Carlton, pp. 49-50.

[36] *Advertiser*, January 9, p. 2: 4.

[37] Detroit Board of Education, *Annual Report*, 1842.

[38] Carl F. Kaestle and Maris A. Vinovskis, *Education and Change in Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts: Quantitative Studies*, N.I.E. Final Report, December, 1976 (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, No. ED 150 048), Chpt. III.

[39] *Advertiser*, January 22, p. 2: 1.

[40] *Advertiser*, January 24, p. 2: 1.

[41] Detroit Common Council, *Proceedings*, 1824-1844, p. 752.

[42] *Advertiser*, January 28, p. 2: 1.

[43] Moehlman, p. 77.

[44] *Advertiser*, February 18, p. 2: 3.

[45] *Advertiser*, March 10, p. 2: 1.

[46] Cornelius O'Flynn, Father Kundig, Francis Cicotte, P. Desnoyers, and J.V. Ruehle.

[47] Church, p. 61.

[48] Ibid., 62.

[49] Formisano, p. 8.

[50] Ibid., 11.

[51] Detroit Common Council, *Proceedings*, January 18, 1842.

[52] Farmer, p. 736. The Detroit Mechanic's Society Officers, in 1845, were mostly entrepeneurs in manufacturing and were overwhelmingly Whigs.

[53] Wilkins, Farmer, Rosalita, Duffield, Moehlman, Burton, all provide sketches.

[54] Wilkins, p. 454.

[55] Moehlman, p. 77.

[56] Wilkins, Rosalita, Moehlman.

[57] *Advertiser*, February 12, p. 2: 4.

[58] *Advertiser*, February 14, p. 2: 3.

[59] Floyd Benjamin Streeter, *Political Parties in Michigan, 1837-1860* (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1918).

[60] Formisano, p. 92.

[51] Ibid., Chpt. VI.

[52] Ibid., p. 221.

[53] Three Whig candidates had served as elected school inspectors prior to 1841.

[54] Frank M. Andrews, *et. al.*, *Multiple Classification Analysis: A Report on a Computer Program for Multiple Regression Using Categorical Variables* (Ann Arbor, MI: Institute for Social Research, 1973), p. 1.

[55] Ibid., p. 2.

[56] Formisano, p. 68.

[57] Ibid., p. 156.

[58] *Free Press*, March 14, 1842, p. 2: 1.

[59] *Advertiser*: March 14, 1842, p. 2: 1.

[60] J.D. Johnston, *Johnston's Detroit Directory and Business Advertiser for 1853-54* (Detroit, MI: Printed for the Publisher at the Daily Tribune Office, 1853).

[61] Jo Ellen McNergny Vineyard, "The Irish on the Urban Frontier: Detroit, 1850-1880," unpublished Dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1972 (University Microfilms, Volume 35, No. 70, pp. 4410-2).

PART IV
Program and Proceedings

PROGRAM

The Midwest History of Education Society
1979 Annual Meeting Program
Loyola University of Chicago
Lewis Towers Campus
Friday, October 26, 1979
Saturday, October 27, 1979
Chicago, Illinois

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1979

Noon-1 p.m. REGISTRATION (Regis Room)

Rosemary Donatelli
Loyola University of Chicago

1 p.m.-2:30 p.m. FIRST SESSION (Regis Room)

Charles M. Dye, Chairman
The University of Akron

Charles Edward Samec
Illinois Public School District 201
The "New Social Studies" and Curriculum Innovation: The Amherst Project Experience, 1959-1972

Timothy Reagan
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Bilingual Education: A Reevaluation of Objectives

2:30 p.m.-4 p.m. SECOND SESSION (Regis Room)

Peter DeBoer, Chairman
Calvin College

Charles E. Alberti
Lewis University
Ghana's Educational Program: A Model For African Countries?

Wilfred L. Innerd
University of Windsor
Isocrates: Pillar of Western Education

4 p.m.-5:30 p.m. THIRD SESSION (Regis Room)

Russell Marks, Jr., Chairman and Moderator
Indiana University

Panel: The Idea of Progressive Education, 1890-1940

Stephen E. Bower
Indiana University
The Idea of Childhood

Timothy Patrick O'Hanlon
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
The Idea of Interscholastic Athletics

Christine Shea
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
The Idea of Mental Health

5:30 p.m.-6:30 p.m. COCKTAIL HOUR (President's Room)

6:30 p.m.-8 p.m. BANQUET (Georgetown Room)

8 p.m.-9 p.m. FOURTH SESSION (Georgetown Room)

William Eaton, Chairman
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

Spencer J. Maxcy
Louisiana State University
The Reform of Education in the Agrarian South, 1900-1950

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1979

8:30 a.m.-10 a.m. FIFTH SESSION (Regis Room)

James C. Carper, Chairman
Tulane University

David L. Angus
The University of Michigan
Detroit's First Great School War: The Politics of Common Schools in a Frontier City, 1836-1842

Loren Horton and Robert E. Belding
The University of Iowa
A Davenport School's Romantic Affair With Southern Plantation Belles read by David Ripley, Northern Illinois University

10 a.m.-11:30 a.m. SIXTH SESSION (Regis Room)

Timothy Patrick O'Hanlon, Chairman
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Barry H. Westfall
Baylor University
Educational Journalism at Its Most Provocative: The American Herbartians and Their Influence on the Direction of Twentieth Century Teacher Education

R.L. Schnell
The University of Calgary

Patricia T. Rooke
The University of Alberta
New Concepts in an Old Discipline: Reconstructing the Introductory History of Education Course

11:30 a.m.-1 p.m. SEVENTH SESSION (Regis Room)

David Ripley, Chairman
Northern Illinois University

M. Loretta Petit
University of Dayton
Samuel Lewis, Ohio's First Superintendent of Common Schools

Brian W. Taylor
The University of New Brunswick
Useful Education for the Poor: A Benthamite Perspective

1 p.m.-1:30 p.m. ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING (Regis Room)

The Midwest History of Education Society Officers

President
William Eaton
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

Vice President
Charles M. Dye
The University of Akron

Secretary
James C. Carper
Tulane University

Editor, *Journal of The Midwest History of Education Society*
Edward Rutkowski
The University of Northern Iowa

MINUTES: 1979 ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING
THE MIDWEST HISTORY OF EDUCATION SOCIETY
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
SATURDAY, 27 OCTOBER 1979

The annual business meeting of the Midwest History of Education Society convened at 1:05 p.m., 27 October 1979, Saturday, in the Regis Room of the Loyola University of Chicago. The meeting was called to order by Society President William Eaton.

The minutes of the 1978 annual business meeting were read by Society Secretary James C. Carper and approved unanimously.

The society expressed its appreciation for the efforts of Rosemary Donatelli, Gerald Gutek, graduate students, and the University and accepted an invitation to hold the sixteenth annual meeting at Loyola University of Chicago, 24-25 October 1980.

The following were nominated, seconded, and elected by acclamation to hold Society officer positions for 1980:

President:	Charles M. Dye The University of Akron
Vice-President:	James C. Carper Tulane University
Secretary:	David W. Adams Cleveland State University

Members of the society discussed the possibility of meeting concurrently with other regional scholarly organizations. It was agreed that any such arrangement should not compromise the facilities offered by Loyola University of Chicago to the Midwest History of Education Society. Charles M. Dye offered to explore the matter with the Comparative and International Education Society.

The membership discussed alternatives to the evening banquet and paper presentation. It was moved, seconded, and approved unanimously that a "social hour" rather than a banquet and paper session conclude the activities of the first day of the meeting.

The Society expressed its gratitude to Charles M. Dye for assembling the program. Several members suggested that reading time for papers be limited to thirty minutes and that there be a fifteen minute break between sessions.

The meeting was adjourned at 1:30 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

James C. Carper, Secretary
The Midwest History of
Education Society

Supplemental Information:

566 sets of program information for the 1979 meeting of the Midwest History of Education Society were distributed.

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